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## Near East/South Asia Report

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14 January 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## ARAB AFRICA

## ALGERIA

Cabinet Weighs 1985 Economic Plan (EL MOUDJAHID, 22 Nov 84).....	1
---	---

## LIBYA

History of Qadhdhafi's Revolution Examined (GEOPOLITIQUE, No 7, 1984).....	4
---	---

## TUNISIA

Foreign Minister Caid Essebsi on OAU Appointment Practices (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 29 Nov 84).....	8
Impact of Extended Relations With EEC Discussed (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 1 Dec 84).....	11
Increased Cooperation With Quebec (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 1 Dec 84).....	13
1984-1985 Date Year Estimates Discussed (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 15 Nov 84).....	15
Reportage on State of Economy (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 17, 21 Nov 84).....	17
Positive Trend Industrial Production Renewed Confidence	

Increase in 1985 Budget for Agriculture, Fishing  
(LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 29 Nov 84)..... 25

Citrus Production Down  
(Kamel Bouaouina; LE TEMPS, 9 Nov 84)..... 27

#### WESTERN SAHARA

Spoils of Saharan Battle Reported  
(Pierre Branche; LE FIGARO MAGAZINE, 3 Nov 84)..... 31

#### ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

#### BAHRAIN

Trade Statistics Reported  
(AL-ADWA', 1 Sep 84)..... 33

Training Program Aims at Increasing Native Workforce  
(AL-ADWA', 15 Sep 84)..... 35

#### ISRAEL

New Land, Sea Defense Systems Developed  
(INNOVATION, No 107, Oct 84)..... 38

Effects of Defense Budget Cuts Described  
(Joshua Brilliant; THE JERUSALEM POST, 14 Nov 84)..... 39

Peres' First 100 Days in Power Analyzed  
(Arye Tzimuqi; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 14 Dec 84)..... 40

Israeli-Made Dish Receives Satellite Beams  
(Barukh Na'e; MA'ARIV, 16 Dec 84)..... 43

Shortage of Funds Halts Settling in Jordan Valley  
(Gid'on Alon; HA'ARETZ, 16 Dec 84)..... 45

#### Briefs

Grants to Arab Villages 46  
Duhayshah Declared Military Area 46  
Flights to Swaziland 46  
November Trade Deficit Decrease 47  
Workers From Territories 47



## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

- Results of Recent PNC Meeting, Outlook for Palestinians Analyzed  
(AL-MAJALLAH, No 251, 1-7 Dec 84)..... 48
- Choices Facing Palestinians, by 'Imad al-Din Adib, et al.  
Chairman Contemplates Resignation  
Moderates Win in Council

## SOUTH ASIA

### AFGHANISTAN

- Soviets Urged To Consider Cease-Fire, Eventual Withdrawal  
(DPA, 21 Dec 84)..... 62

### BANGLADESH

- Awami League Holds Condolence Meeting on Gandhi Death  
(Various sources, various dates)..... 63
- Hasina, Others Speak  
Reaction From Janadal, Others  
Hasina 'Offensive' Described
- Paper Reports Outcome of 13 November Ulema Conference  
(THE BANGLADESH TIMES, 15 Nov 84)..... 69
- Paper Gives Details of FRG Aid Agreement  
(THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 15 Nov 84)..... 70
- Dhaka Seeks To Dispel Misgivings About Bank  
(THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 15 Nov 84)..... 72
- Food Minister Talks to Press on Famine Rumors  
(THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 15 Nov 84)..... 73

### INDIA

- Members of Rajiv's Inner Circle Cause Resentment  
(Seema Mustafa; THE TELEGRAPH, 8 Nov 84)..... 75
- Analyst Tells Problems Faced by Rajiv in Election  
(G.K. Reddy; THE HINDU, 9 Nov 84)..... 76
- Left's Initial Reaction to Rajiv Termed 'Soft'  
(Rita Manchanda; THE TELEGRAPH, 9 Nov 84)..... 79

Congress-I in Northeast Solidly Behind Rajiv (PATRIOT, 10 Nov 84).....	80
Analyst Discusses Intelligence Shortcomings (G.K. Reddy; THE HINDU, 11 Nov 84).....	81
India Not To Press for Asian Development Bank Loan (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 11 Nov 84).....	86
DMKP Issues Resolution on Delhi Riots (THE STATESMAN, 12 Nov 84).....	88
<b>Briefs</b>	
Spies Held Guilty	89
Janata Board Membership	89
Rajiv, Laldenga Meeting	89

#### IRAN

Clandestine Radio on Soviet Citizens in Iran (Radio Nejat-e Iran, 21 Dec 84).....	90
New Draft Law To Reduce Exemptions (KEYHAN, 4 Dec 84).....	91
Islamic Conference Approves Iranian Resolutions (IRNA, 21 Dec 84).....	95
Tehran Reports on 'Final Resolutions' of ICO Meeting in Sanaa (Tehran Domestic Service, 22 Dec 84).....	97
Clandestine Radio Reports Unrest in Fars Province (Radio Nejat-e Iran, 22 Dec 84).....	98
NVOI Reports New Executions in Iran (National Voice of Iran, 25 Dec 84).....	99
<b>Briefs</b>	
Grain Transportation Device Reportedly Built	101
Computer-Coded Booklets Distributed To Prevent Misuse	101
Sepah Bank Transactions	102
Iraqi Opposition Conference Ends	103

#### PAKISTAN

No Change Expected in India's Policy Toward Pakistan (Ershad Ahmad Haqqani; JANG, 7 Nov 84).....	104
India Chided for Spurning Hand of Friendship (Editorial; JANG, 7 Nov 84).....	107

<b>Canadian Scholar Views Pakistan's Security Situation</b> (JANG, 15 Dec 84).....	109
<b>Assessment of Oil Needs, Production Examined</b> (Editorial; DAWN, 20 Dec 84).....	111
<b>Commentary Views Pirzada's Election to ICO</b> (Editorial; DAWN, 21 Dec 84).....	113
<b>Referendum Outcome Welcomed</b> (Shamim Qadir; Karachi Domestic Service, 21 Dec 84)...	115
<b>Briefs</b>	
<b>Ambassador to Mongolia</b>	117

CABINET WEIGHS 1985 ECONOMIC PLAN

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 22 Nov 84 p 3

/Text/ Algiers (APS): The cabinet met yesterday, Wednesday 21 November 1984, in the presidential offices, with Mr Chadli Bendjedid, president of the republic and secretary general of the National Liberation Front Party, presiding.

Following the prime minister's presentation on ministerial activities, the cabinet began its business of the day with a study of the proposed plan for 1985.

The cabinet reviewed the contents of the 1985 segment of the second 5-year plan in the light of an analysis of the economy's performance in 1984 which was characterized by appreciable results due to an investment dynamic that was sustained at the 1983 level.

Finalization of Major Program Areas Raised in 1984

Noting that, as concerns economic organization, 1984 was a year which saw not only the continuation of steps to restructure, decentralize and generally consolidate the planning process, but also the introduction of a number of major economic, social, financial and procedural program areas, the cabinet took a close look at the set of measures designed to bolster the general reorganization of the economy, to improve efficiency of operation and management, and to create the conditions needed to achieve the objectives that will be set forth in the second 5-year plan.

Thus, the actions developed during the 5-year period now ended will extend into the year 1985 and will have a noticeable impact on the next period. For this reason, 1985 will see the finalization of the major issues raised in 1984 and the implementation of appropriate action.

Unitary Conduct of Development

To establish the conditions necessary to achieve the objectives of the 1985-89 national development plan, the measures planned will be aimed, as of 1985, at:

--a more effective use of instruments designed to regulate and orient the economy;

--a more stringent appropriation and distribution of funds and the establishment of a permanent link matching investment programs to real growth of domestic finances;

--the reinforcement of planning at all levels based on a closer coordination of planning, management and decisionmaking echelons; decentralization; and greater responsibilities for managers;

--the creation of the conditions necessary for the annual plan to perform the role it should have in the implementation of the 1985-89 5-year plan.

The economy's general trends and balances as they appear from the components of the proposed 1985 plan, enabled the cabinet to study all of the aspects pertaining in particular to the evolution of the basic parameters of the economy, investment, employment and the reinforcement of production planification in the yearly segments of the national development plan.

In 1985, in which the keynote will be the reinforcement of the role played by the annual plan in the unitary conduct of development and emphasis placed on its imperative and executive nature, definitive annual plans will be drawn up for companies and the wilayas. The definitive national plan will thus incorporate the area of production, around which all other areas of economic activity will be defined, and it will thus reflect the nation's concerns with regard to national and regional development.

#### Matching Programs With Feasibility

Participating in the discussions, the president of the republic raised the urgent need to pursue effective realization of the strategic objectives established in 1980 to ensure basic internal and external balance and the proper functioning of the mechanisms and systems put into place in order to guarantee efficiency in the handling of the nation's economy.

Raising the subject of investment in priority sectors, the head of state stressed the concept of self-reliance which must always underlie the work of national development and lead to programs equal to the country's capability to carry them out, by limiting both foreign input and monetary financing within the bounds tolerable to the nation's economy.

Pursuing his thinking, the president emphasized that the implementation of the 1985 annual plan should produce a concrete reinforcement of the unitary conduct of development thanks to perfected mechanisms of planning which has been largely decentralized and strengthened by the total managerial autonomy that has been passed on to companies.

Recalling the importance to the country of respecting the deadlines for carrying out the measures proposed in the plan, the head of state declared that in order to meet the challenges of development, the nation must mobilize with the same drive and invest unfailingly all of its creative energies in productive work.

## Development of the Nation's Computer Industry

The cabinet next reviewed and adopted the proposed additional provisions to the 1985 draft budget related to oil industry taxes. The revision of certain provisions of laws in effect is involved here.

Further, the cabinet studied a report on the development of the nation's computer industry. The discussion covering the many aspects of this subject brought out the points that militate in favor of developing the nation's computer industry, keeping in mind the various conditions now in place that would facilitate it, the national demand for computer capability, the eventual widespread use of computers at the different levels of schooling and training, and the extension of computer utilization to the various sectors of economic activity.

Within this framework, the cabinet took steps to prepare an integrated policy that would gradually develop national production capacities in this area toward meeting the country's needs in computer materials.

To complete its discussions, the cabinet studied the proposed amendments to the bill on health protection and promotion, scheduled for debate in the current session of the People's National Assembly.

12413

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## HISTORY OF QADHDHAFI'S REVOLUTION EXAMINED

Paris GEOPOLITIQUE in French No 7, Fall 84 pp 72-75

[Text] It was 1 September 1969 when the cadet from the Qadhadhifah tribe entered the international arena, quite unexpectedly, following a confused coup. He had been born 27 years earlier in a nomad's tent, in the solitude of the Surt, where the great African desert meets the ancient Mediterranean. The Western powers had waged war there, between Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and the divisions of Rommel and Montgomery had met in the clash of battle. The bedouins, as was their custom, were waiting for the rains that would insure the survival of their flocks. They were scarcely concerned about fighting between foreigners. Their concerns, as well as their environment, were as immutable as the Holy Book and the march of time.

Like his shepherd brothers, the young Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi learned to read the Koran, and because he was a quick learner he attended the official school.

From reading and the radio he discovered soon enough an unsuspected world of violence, cupidity, domination and servitude. The oppressed peoples were throwing off their shackles, the old empires were foundering, continents were wracked by the struggle for liberation. Was Libya itself not still under the yoke? The Italian colonizers had disappeared, but with every passing day the country was coming more completely under the protection of the victorious Americans, British and French. During this time, in the 1950's, on the banks of the Nile, a young officer, Gamal abd-al-Nasir, and 12 companions undertook the perilous venture of attempting to liberate Egypt. Their inflammatory rhetoric, carried by "Voice of the Arabs," even reached as far as the Fezzan, where the young al-Qadhdhafi was pursuing his studies.

His ardent soul was seized with enthusiasm and his dreams began to take shape. Like all the sons of the desert, he had a stubborn and independent nature, deep religious convictions and an unshakeable certainty that God would bless his designs. His intellectual universe was simple, crude and untainted by those shades of gray that hinder forthright action. A bedouin is always trying to find a well, and the outcome of that search determines whether he lives or dies. He knows instinctively that he must always keep moving, without pause for rest or distraction, and he must frequently disguise his trail and change course to confuse the enemy.

Al-Qadhdhafi's path was now well-traveled. He too would surround himself with a dozen companions and with their help he would seize power. He would stir up his



people and assume the leadership of a vast liberation movement that would restore to his Arab fatherland its rightful glory and grandeur. He would defeat imperialism and neocolonialism (the midwives of Bandoeng were already talking about it) and serve as an example for the rest of the world. Of course the people of Libya were actually enduring their misfortunes uncomplainingly, and no one was beating the drums of rebellion. And even the United Nations was reluctant to grant independence to that parcel of "sand, rocks, thorns and vipers." When it finally decided to do so, on 24 December 1957, the majority had voted for it only because "the new nation was so poor it was of no importance."

That assessment failed to take into account the heaven-sent miracle of oil, which began to spring up on the desolate hamadas.

Within a few short years, the discovery of that divine manna was to overturn all assumptions and make this no man's land into a powerful nation, one on which the hopes of many would ride. Qadhdhafi accelerated his preparations, organized his troops on Cairo's model, dispersed them to strategic points, and on 1 September 1969 took power in a surprise attack, overthrowing the short-lived monarchy of King Idriss and proclaiming Libya a republic. The people remained indifferent, and the young shepherd realized he could mold that pliable clay into any form he chose. From that moment he began to build a revolutionary state in a peaceful country disturbed by neither revolution nor rebellion.

#### Imitation Nasserism

A zealous disciple of the Egyptian president, Qadhdhafi soon imitated his model and seized control of the banks, the insurance companies and commercial enterprises. He forced the oil companies to negotiate an unprecedented increase in the price of crude oil. He obtained the evacuation of the British and American bases. He consolidated his power by granting others under him positions of increased authority, founded a political party (the only party in Libya), the Arab Socialist Union, and nationalized British Petroleum. At every step he was faithful to his intellectual master and unabashedly called on the help of Egyptian advisers.

#### The Death of Nasir, Vacillation and the Cultural Revolution

On 28 September 1970 Gamal abd-al-Nasir died suddenly, and his young disciple was undone. The dream of filling his prestigious master's shoes crossed his mind for a moment, but the situation in Cairo was too complex, and Libya's revolution was still in its infancy. So Qadhdhafi had recourse to the old Berber tradition of the Jama'ah (village democratic councils where the community met to conduct its affairs). He ordered local meetings convoked throughout the country and held endless televised discussions with the "little people" on minor problems, without knowing how to structure these embryonic committees at the national level. Once more he found his inspiration in Cairo. On 10 April 1973 he was invited to the Egyptian capital by Anwar al-Sadat and Hafiz al-Asad. While there he met Hasanayn Haykal, the prestigious editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM, who had just returned from China. Qadhdhafi wanted to know what was happening in China and what its "cultural revolution" was all about. Haykal, a talented communicator, explained it to him, and Qadhdhafi became enthusiastic. Returning to Tripoli on 16 April 1973, he gave a long



speech at Zuwarah in which he spelled out what would henceforth be the objectives of the Libyan cultural revolution: complete application of Islamic law (the shari'ah), reinforcement of the ideological campaign, the arming of the people, the struggle against bureaucracy, creation of people's committees throughout the administration and in every locality in the country, all under the authority of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC).

#### Internal Socialization and Creation of the Jamahiriyah

The establishment of that immense apparatus, facilitated by the people's total dependence on oil revenues distributed by the state, gave Qadhdhafi the idea of a people's government along the lines of a "third path" that eschewed both the capitalist jungle and totalitarian socialism. He published the "Green Book" and, while remaining head of state for the time being, revised the bylaws of the Arab Socialist Union to provide for its members to be elected directly by the populace. The RCC, the delegates from the people's committees and the vocational associations were founded in the People's General Congress. Finally, the constitution of December 1969 was abrogated and replaced by a charter of people's power which proclaimed the "Jamahiriyah, the government of the Libyan people's socialistic masses."

Qadhdhafi then abandoned the leadership of the state in order to devote himself to revolutionary action.

#### Revolutionary Action, the Struggle against Israel and the Obstinate Pursuit of Union with Neighboring States

This action was carried out at two levels:

--Inside Libya, the exploitation of the wage-earners was replaced by collaborative association, and the management of private and public enterprises was transferred to the working people's committees. Property rights were limited, and private real estate rentals were prohibited. An Arab nationality was created in order to give every Muslim volunteer a Libyan passport.

--Outside the country, the colonel pursued his dream of the Ummah. The Koran, the Arabic language and the shari'ah unite the faithful; national quarrels divide them. Therefore, one must efface or erase borders as much as possible. So he began to seek out all possible unions:

--establishment of the Arab Socialist Union with Egypt and Syria (1 January 1972).

--proposal for total unification of Egypt and Libya (1973).

--unification with Tunisia and creation of an Islamic Arab Republic (12 January 1974).

--Unified Syrio-Libyan state (September 1980).

--treaty of friendship and cooperation with Chad (1981).

--treaty of union with Morocco (August 1984).

All these efforts, except for the latest, which is still too recent to judge, ended in resounding failure: armed conflict with Egypt (21-25 July 1977); the Rejection Front and sanctions against Cairo after the signing of the Camp David accords (1978); conflict over the sovereignty of the Gulf of Gabes, demonstrations in Tunis, the Gafsa attack (January 1980), etc.

Simultaneously with these doomed efforts, Colonel Qadhdhafi pursued his attacks against Israel and his campaign to seduce black Africa. In order to assure military provisions for Egyptian and Syrian forces engaged in the Sinai and Golan, he approached the USSR and created a sizeable and sophisticated arsenal. Disappointed by the defections of his allies, he turned toward revolutionary movements around the world, to whom he supplied equipment and arms. He supported Iran in its struggle against Iraq, threatened the moderate Arab regimes, supported the most questionable adventurers, stirring up international public opinion and falling into worldwide disrepute. Having reached this point, the Libyan revolution and its guide seem today to be going around in circles and getting nowhere; the great dreams have been extinguished, one by one. Why this impasse and misunderstanding?

One might well ask whether the shepherd of Surt--so much a prisoner of his own personality, overwhelmed by the complexity of problems and entangled in uncontrollable complications--may have let himself go too far. Perhaps, after 15 years in power, he has lost his way and the source of his inspiration. Naturally, his flock of followers still surrounds him, docile and flattered to be taken under the master's wing, but cross-currents are buffeting them. By believing too much in his own star and inspiration, Colonel Qadhdhafi has doubtless ignored the real aspirations of his people and has ruled in an illusory utopia. Like all visionaries and charismatic leaders, he has dreamed of a nation that conforms to his ideas, but it does not exist in reality. Who could believe that the Libyan people are losing sleep over the Palestinian cause? That their deepest desire is to take up arms and destroy Israel, that in their hearts they cherish distributive socialism more than the ingrained taste for bargaining and the suk?

All the evidence suggests that they prefer the good things of life over the austerity of an archaic Islam, that they would rather amass a bit of wealth to provide their families with a few of the comforts, leave an inheritance to their children, buy an automobile and some electronic gadgets, build a villa that is more luxurious than their neighbor's in order to savor the difference. To claim that the bourgeois family man would rather educate his sons at al-Azhar rather than in the West, to pretend to believe that the citizen is happy to be permanently subject to the whims of the neighborhood bully--all that is nonsense and dangerous posturing. Finally, who does not realize that building a state in so artificial a manner, without any real popular consent, solely for the pleasure of realizing one's fantasies and serving as a model for others, is a fallacious undertaking, one which can only bring the architect discredit, isolation and the sarcasm of his neighbors?

It is impossible to say whether the "hot-tempered colonel, the unpredictable guide, the dangerous terrorist" who is so enthusiastically thrashed in the international press,--that leader who systematically mistakes his convictions and his passion for merit--will come to his senses before it is too late and re-learn the desert wisdom of his shepherd ancestors: one cannot be simultaneously deluded about the flock, the well, the path, and the pasture and expect Allah ever to forgive.

FOREIGN MINISTER CAID ESSEBSI ON OAU APPOINTMENT PRACTICES

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 29 Nov 84 p 7

[Article: "Mr Caid Essebsi to 'LA PRESSE': Tunisia Is Proposing a Rotating System for the Post of General Secretary of the OAU"]

[Text] Long undermined by ideological divisions, Africa undertook to take itself in hand again at Addis-Ababa, on the occasion of the 20th OAU Summit. It even succeeded in going back to its roots by letting the right way prevail again: the way of wisdom and reason.

Indeed, for the first time in many years, African leaders tackled almost exclusively the economic problems which are actually worrying the Continent, leaving aside ideological and other conflicts. It is a fact that Africa's economic situation has reached a critical point. But it is also a fact that African leaders actually paid attention to President Bourguiba's appeal to be determined to transcend themselves so they can devote themselves fully and effectively to what really serves Africa and its people.

Indeed, participants at the Addis-Ababa summit meeting adopted a series of resolutions of an economic nature, providing in particular for the creation of a joint emergency fund. But they also decided to hold an economic summit in 1985, following a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs and economy of the OAU.

Therefore, much was achieved at Addis-Ababa as far as the economy is concerned, but on the other hand, the appointment of a new general secretary of the panafrikan organization once again stumbled over the same problems. And, faced with their inability to agree on one of the two candidates--Blondin Beye from Mali and Paul Okumba from Gabon--the participants finally decided to renew the appointment of the former interim general secretary, Peter Onu from Nigeria, until the next summit.

That problem may arise again, at Addis-Ababa or elsewhere, if a solution is not found in the future.

When we asked him about this, Mr Beji Caid Essebsi, minister of foreign affairs, was willing to answer our question.

First, let me reassure you; like the other continents, the African continent has plenty of competent cadres. Peter Onu is a good example in this respect. We can only praise the impeccable manner in which, as interim general secretary, he is leading the destinies of our organization in the face of the many and perilous challenges that confront it. Besides, it is only our desire to comply with the charter of our organization that prevented the 20th Summit from electing Peter Onu as a full-fledged general secretary once the candidates from Gabon and Mali had been excluded, as they failed to receive two thirds of the votes.

But since you ask me that question, I shall answer frankly.

You see, if, as you say, the organization has been unable to elect a new general secretary for two years, it is because, unfortunately, it is still the victim of its divisions, just as, 21 years after its creation, it still insists on meeting criteria of a linguistic nature that are, to say the least, obsolete.

I mentioned divisions; this is of course the division between "moderates" and "progressists" that was reflected in one ballot after the other and caused the two candidates to be both dismissed: Okumba the moderate and Blondin Beye the progressist. Even after the latter had withdrawn its candidacy and in spite of the appeal made by Julius Nyerere, chairman of the meeting, the "progressists" continued to say no to Okumba.

As for the linguistic criteria that have been applied for a long time, although they are not stated either in the Charter or in any other text, they consist in choosing the general secretary of the OAU among the French-speaking countries of our Continent. It is a fact that the first four general secretaries of the OAU came from French-speaking countries, and it is only because these countries were unable to agree on a single candidate that an English-speaker could deputize in the interim.

Therefore, I propose to give up all these practices once and for all and, from now on, to use only the criterion of competence and rotation, so that in the future politicians from other linguistic groups could be elected to this post.

In that case, why not an Arab-speaking general secretary? There is not law against it, and I do not think that our English-speaking, French-speaking or Portuguese-speaking brothers would have any particular objections. The essential for Africa, united and harmonious in its diversity, is to transcend temporary differences and consider only the interest of its peoples, by strengthening particularly their unity and solidarity.

It is precisely by allowing a rotation at the post of general secretary that member countries could more effectively cope with the burdens that now affect the organization, such as ideological, political and linguistic divisions.

9294

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## IMPACT OF EXTENDED RELATIONS WITH EEC DISCUSSED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 1 Dec 84 p 4

[Article: "Economic Relations Considered From the Point of View of the Extension of the Common Market"]

[Text] Mr Ismail Khelil, minister of plan, met yesterday for a working session with a delegation of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Economic Community, headed by Mr Robert Pelletier.

The European delegation's visit takes place in the context of the contacts the EEC is making to study the impact of an extension of the EEC on the Tunisian economy.

Addressing the members of the delegation, Mr Ismail Khelil reviewed the various aspects of the economic and social cooperation existing under the agreements signed by Tunisia and the EEC.

The minister also informed them of the Tunisian government's concern as to the future of relations between Tunisia and the EEC extended to include Spain and Portugal.

The adhesion of these two countries to the EEC, he indicated, will enable Europe to be self-sufficient for certain products, or even produce surplusses for other products which Tunisia is now supplying to Europe.

Another cause of concern for Tunisia, he added, is the industrial and technological redeployment which Europe is now experiencing, as it cannot fail to have a direct impact on the Tunisian workers employed in Europe as well as on cooperation between Tunisia and Europe.

"Tunisia," Mr Khelil further said, "is eager to participate in this industrial redeployment so as to preserve the complementary and fruitful cooperation established under the agreement signed by the two parties."

Later on, answering questions asked by Committee members, Mr Khelil provided detailed and exhaustive information on the achievements of the Tunisian

economy and its objectives and on the various challenges it will have to face in the near future to ensure the full development of the sectors of agriculture, industry, tourism and exports.

The delegation also met Thursday with Mr Rachid Sfar, minister of national economy.

Answering questions from committee members concerning the relations between Tunisia and the EEC and the effects that the EEC extension will have on the Tunisian economy, Mr Rachid Sfar pointed out that the obstacles encountered by Tunisian exports on European markets have reduced the vigor of the bilateral economic cooperation efforts made since the early 1970's. If protectionist measures had not been applied, this would have been pursued more ardently by the two parties, the minister pointed out.

Mr Rachid Sfar added that negotiations concerning the future and opportunities for cooperation should be initiated, taking into account present difficulties and in the context of bilateral cooperation to solve all existing problems. Thus, we shall provide new impetus for cooperation and restore hope in the feasibility of a united future for countries around the Mediterranean.

9294

CSO: 4519/49

INCREASED COOPERATION WITH QUEBEC

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 1 Dec 84 p 4

[Article: "Signature of an Agreement Concerning the Implementation of a Mechanism to Follow Up on Bilateral Cooperation"]

[Text] During a ceremony that took place yesterday at noon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Messrs Amor Fezzani, general secretary of the Ministry, and Rober Pruneau, assistant minister of international relations and foreign trade of Quebec, signed the minutes of the official conversations that the Quebec official and the delegation accompanying him had with Tunisian officials on the occasion of the delegation's visit to Tunisia, which started last Wednesday.

In this document, Tunisia and Quebec state their determination to intensify their cooperation in the field of training and extend it to other sectors, especially those of agriculture, data processing and industry.

The two parties also agreed to promote their bilateral trade so as to reduce the chronic deficit of Tunisia's trade balance with Quebec.

During these conversations, an agreement was also arrived at concerning the implementation of a permanent mechanism to follow up and assess cooperation between Tunis and Quebec.

Note that the Quebec delegation met Thursday with Mr Mezri Chekir, minister delegate to the prime minister, in charge of civil service and administrative reform.

The conversation focussed in particular on relations between Tunisia and Quebec, especially on industrial cooperation. In this respect, the two parties agreed to step up their efforts so as to create conditions conducive to an intensification of cooperation through the participation of Quebec to a series of Tunisian projects.



The delegation also met with Mr Abdelaziz Ben Dhia, minister of higher education and scientific research. One of the subjects considered was the intensification of cooperation to teach data processing at university level.

A meeting with Mr Ahmed Ben Arfa, secretary of state to the minister of foreign affairs, in charge of international cooperation, enabled the two parties to discuss the long-established friendship between Tunisia and Quebec and their cooperation in various sectors.

Mr Ben Arfa stressed the necessity to further reinforce the existing cooperation in the fields of training and health.

In particular, he pointed out to the need for a diversification of co-operation so as to extend it to other sectors, such as agriculture, industry and data processing.

9294

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## TUNISIA

### 1984-1985 DATE YEAR ESTIMATES DISCUSSED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 15 Nov 84 p 3.

[Article: "The Date Campaign: Incentives To Packaging and Storage"]

[Text] Estimated at 56,500 tons, including 34,500 tons of Deglet Nur and 22,000 tons of regular dates, the 1983-1984 crop was considerable in quantity and, since it did not suffer from early-fall rains, it was of good quality; as a result, it was easier to pack and store and, therefore, easier to sell.

The first estimates for the 1984-1985 date campaign are as follows:

<u>Governorate</u>	<u>Deglet Nur</u>	<u>Regular Dates</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tozeur	14,500 tons	10,500 tons	25,000 tons
Kebili	18,500 tons	9,000 tons	27,500 tons
Total	33,000 tons	19,500 tons	52,500 tons

The crop is slightly smaller than last year. But this is true in particular of older plantations, where the decline is 20 to 30 percent, depending on the zones. This is due to the so-called "fruiting" phenomenon: the trees were overloaded during the last campaign and could not produce as much this year. This problem could have been prevented if growers had reduced the number of clusters on each tree and thinned the clusters. Although this method has been widely promoted and is well known of producers, most of them are reluctant to use it.

However, the decline in production was offset to a large extent by the increased crop of new plantations, in particular those that were planted between 1965 and 1975.

If the quantity is relatively small considering the number of producing trees, the quality so far is good. The few raindrops that fell in August and September have had no significant effect on the crop. The trees bear relatively small fruit loads, in thinned clusters with dates of a good size and sounder than last year. The fruit will be early in peripheral zones and late in older oases and most plantations in the Kebili governorate.

If rain fell in October, it could cause some damage at Nefzaoua and much less at the Jerid. [as published]

The condition of the crop made it possible to start harvesting around 25 October. Export sales could also start at that time, but large tonnages will start flooding the market only in November.

Taking into account the canvassing already made, export sales abroad are expected to total 6,000 to 8,000 tons between 1 November and 31 December. By 30 September 1985, sales are expected to amount to 17,000 tons--an increase of 2,000 tons. In Tunisian dinars, these sales would amount to TD 16 to 18 million.

The development of the date production has been marked by a progressive increase in the quantity of Deglet Nur and a stagnation of regular dates. This is due to the attention received by the former, which is a variety in great demand, both on the domestic and the foreign market; considering the plantation projects completed or to be completed in the future, and the oases re-conversion projects, production can be expected to reach 100,000 tons by the end of the century, consisting of 75,000 tons of Deglet Nur and 25,000 tons of regular dates.

On the other hand, date exports have also experienced a remarkable development: their amount increased from 3.6 million dinars during the 1978-1979 campaign to 15 million dinars during the last campaign.

The most positive factor is probably the multiplication of date-packaging stations that were created in certain regions of the country, in particular at production sites. Although still inadequate, this shows that people are becoming aware of the importance of that sector.

Many promoters, some of them farmers, became aware that dates should be packaged and stored, if necessary in cold stores, so as to spread sales in time.

State incentives, assistance from local authorities and from the GID [expansion unknown] have also enabled these promoters to build date-packaging stations capable of processing a large part of the crop. But their capacity remains inadequate compared with present production and, in particular, with planned production. Dates have to be packaged for export, but also and increasingly so, to be sold on the local market. The Tunisian consumer now prefers high-grade well-packed dates and tends to buy less and less bulk dates.

What is still far more urgent is to create large cold stores to store crop surpluses. The date season lasts 60 days and it is impossible to sell the whole crop in such a short time. To control production, and therefore sales, storage is a must.

Source: CONJONCTURE Magazine

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## REPORTAGE ON STATE OF ECONOMY

## Positive Trend

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 17 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] On the whole, the economic situation during the first nine months of 1984 reveals a positive trend, although movement is slow due to a certain number of domestic difficulties and above all, the impact of the world economic crisis on Tunisia. This situation could have been critical if it had not been for the good performance in agriculture and the agro-food industries, whose results were better than expected. Planning officials point to the steady annual growth rate projected for the GNP at 5.5 percent at constant prices or its reduction of some 10 percent, which would mean growth of about 5 percent for the year. In addition, these figures show that what has been lost in the nonagricultural sectors has been recovered -- or very nearly -- in the agricultural sector, whose achievements far surpass initial estimates.

Regarding industrial production, accomplishments are generally controversial. Sectors oriented toward exports (energy, mining, chemistry and textiles) have weakened due to the flagging foreign demand. In contrast, sectors addressing themselves to the domestic market (IMCCV [Building Materials, Ceramics and Glass Industries], the IMM, and so on) maintained a fairly normal rate of growth.

## Positive Evolution

During the first nine months of 1984, the consumer price index evolved moderately, with the exception of the month of July, which experienced a sharp increase as a result of the grain derivative price adjustment. For the period in question, the shift in the general level of prices between December 1983 and September 1984 resulted in an increase of 5.3 percent, while estimates for the year as a whole anticipate an increase of 8 to 8.5 percent. As for the final quarter of the year, if one envisages a trend based on the average for the past nine months, the trend would then be 7.5 percent for the entire year. Even if the monthly increase for the period considered reached 1 percent a month, the annual objective of 8.5 percent could only be exceeded by 2/10ths.

In September 1984, the specific consumer price index reached 185.3 points, which meant a slight growth of .5 percent compared with the preceding month. At the root of this evolution is price movements that particularly affected clothing

(up 1 percent) and leisure, culture and miscellaneous (up 1.5 percent). As for the other groups, they saw their indexes evolve within a range of .1 to .4 percent.

#### Food

In the course of September, the group of food products registered a slight increase (up .4 percent) compared with the preceding month, going from the index of 194.2 to 194.9. At the root of this evolution are price increases for dairy products due to the increase in the price of sterilized milk, fishing products and, to a lesser extent, certain varieties of vegetables. On the other hand, there were price drops for fats, fruits and especially eggs, a product that in October suffered a sharp price increase whose impact will be felt in the index for the next month.

The change in the index for the food group between December 1983 and September 1984 is 6.5 percent, an increase that mainly affected grain products, fishing products, vegetables and mainly alcoholic and nonalcoholic beverages. However, these increases were slightly attenuated by drops observed for eggs, fruits and fats.

#### Housing

Rising to 173.0 in September 1984, the index for the housing group registered an increase of .3 percent compared with the previous month. This increase, which is at the same level as that for August 1984, stems from price variations observed for the subgroups furniture and bedding, household appliances, and, to a lesser extent, maintenance and minor repairs and cooking utensils and dishes. The shift in the index for the housing group between December 1983 and September 1984 is up 2.4 percent, less than that of the overall index (5.3 percent). The most noteworthy upward price variations concern dishes and kitchen utensils, household appliances and, to a lesser extent, maintenance and minor repairs.

#### Transportation

Like the group maintenance, hygiene and health care, the transportation group also registered a rise of .1 percent in September 1984, essentially due to a slight change in rates for the subgroup public transportation (up .1 percent). As for the other subgroups, their indexes remained stable. The shift in the index for the transportation group between December 1983 and September 1984 was an increase of 3.76 percent, mainly affecting the postal service and telecommunications, the cost of means of transportation and, to a lesser degree, purchases of means of transportation.

#### Leisure, Culture and Miscellaneous

The index for the leisure, culture and miscellaneous group marked an increase of 1.5 percent in September 1984, while during the previous month, it remained stable. This tangible increase mainly affected the subgroups leisure services (up 7.1 percent) due to the increase in the price of tickets to athletic events

of some 25 percent, and school supplies (up 6.6 percent), whose effect coincided with the 1984-1985 school year. The shift in this index between December 1983 and September 1984 amounted to 4.4 percent, an increase mainly affecting eating out, tobacco and cigarettes, school supplies, and services and items connected with leisure and recreation.

#### Health Care and Maintenance

The group of health care and maintenance slightly increased by .1 percent in September 1984, while it remained stable during the preceding month. This slight evolution is explained by tiny increases in the price of personal hygiene services, cosmetics and toilet articles. The shift in the index for this group between December 1983 and September 1984 was 2.5 percent, an increase particularly affecting toiletries and medical and pharmaceutical expenses.

#### Clothing

The clothing group, which last year experienced a slight change in prices, began a tangible increase this year. This group's index registered an increase of 1 percent in September 1984 compared with the previous month, going from 166.2 to 167.8. This tangible growth touched the main categories, particularly secondhand clothing, special clothing due to the increase in prices of aprons, underclothing and linens, hats for women, fabrics and notions and, to a lesser extent, shoes and accessories. The shift in this group's index between December 1983 and September 1984 was up 7.8 percent, the highest increase for all groups contained in the index. The increase affected all categories, particularly outerwear for men, underclothing and hats for men and children and fabrics and notions.

#### Consumer Prices

With respect to consumer prices, the period of the first nine months of 1984 was marked by a moderate evolution, except for the month of July, which experienced a definite acceleration (down 1.7 percent), mainly due to the increase in the cost of grain products. But the most important thing is the fact that one can still expect an annual change on the order of 8 to 8.5 percent, since the change in the first nine months of 1984 was only down 5.3 percent.

Regarding supplies, the country's needs are covered by purchases made and underway despite fluctuations in prices in an upward direction. This is the case of black pepper and especially tea.

#### Foreign Trade

Concerning the trade balance, the situation at the close of the first eight months of 1984 seems tense. Actually, exports of products other than oil are practically stagnant regarding the same period in 1983, while the economic budget for the year showed an increase of 17.6 percent for exports other than oil. The drop mainly affected traditional exports, particularly phosphates and olive oil. Exports of textiles and leather remain at their level for the same period in 1983.

Regarding imports, growth is sustained (up 12.2 percent for the first eight months) due to the effect of the increase in purchases of food products (grain, soybean oil, meat) and especially imports of machinery, raw materials and semi-finished goods (up 13.4 percent). This situation has resulted in a commercial deficit of 683 MD [presumably billion dinars].

#### Tourism

Tourism has not been up to expectations. Receipts in foreign exchange total 259 MD for the first nine months and for the year, receipts of 365 MD are expected. An improvement occurred beginning with the peak season. Outside of the increase in entries of nonresidents (up 5.2 percent for the first eight months), the total number of nights spent did not drop as much in recent months, going from a drop of 6.9 percent at the close of the first six months to a drop of 2.4 percent at the end of the first nine months. In addition, the actual recovery began in August and continued in the following months. By the end of the year of 1984, the total number of nights spent will be over 11 million.

#### Industrial Production

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 21 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] The economic situation for the first nine months of 1984 on the whole reveals a positive trend (see our article "A Positive Trend," LA PRESSE, 17 November).

However, regarding industrial production, achievements are generally controversial. The sectors oriented toward exports (energy, mining, chemistry and textiles) flagged due to the decline in foreign demand. In contrast, the sectors dealing with the domestic market (IMCCV, IMM, and so on) kept a fairly normal rate of growth.

Regarding investment intentions, as presented in the industrial approvals given by the Investment Promotion Agency (API), they show an increase in investments (up 1.6 percent for the first nine months), a slight improvement in the number of projects, but a tangible drop in jobs. The drop in jobs stems from the relative decline in repetitive projects using large labor forces vs profitable projects, which explains the growth in investments. The latter also felt the impact of the higher cost of machinery (imported inflation).

#### Energy

The production of oil amounted to 4,108,000 tons during the first nine months of 1984, a slight drop (down 1.2 percent) compared with a similar period in 1983. This is explained by the drop observed at Ashtart (down 6.9 percent) due to operating difficulties, and Tazarka (down 13.9 percent) because of a lack of pressure. The drop in production at these two deposits was slightly attenuated by an increase of .7 percent at El Borma. It should be noted that the drop in production was expected because estimates show an annual production of 5,373,000 tons compared with 5,538,000 tons in 1983.



Concerning exports of crude, they rose in value by 9.2 percent (421.7 MD compared with 386 MD for the first nine months of 1983), despite the drop in volume exported (2,842,800 tons compared with 2,897,400 tons) and especially the drop in prices starting in May. The recovery of the market is still slow. However, the drop in prices is fortunately compensated for by the greater worth of the dollar.

#### Mines

The mining sector has remained in difficulty because of the decline in production and exports of phosphates and in production of iron ore and all non-ferrous metals, with the exception of chemical spath, whose production rose 41.4 percent. Regarding phosphates, production remains down compared with results obtained in 1983, for many reasons.

Thus, an analysis of achievements for the first nine months as well as for the preceding months shows a decline in production, which totals 4,016,600 tons compared with 4,362,000 tons for the same period last year, a drop of 7.9 percent. Consequently, the decline in production will partially improve during the fourth quarter of 1984.

For their part, exports are affected by the confusion on the market at the beginning of the year, but one can see that the drop is lessening (down 8.8 percent for nine months compared with 17.4 percent for the first six months). Thanks to very large sales in October 1984, performance for the first ten months will be at the same level or higher than those of the same period in 1983.

Regarding other ores, marketing difficulties on the foreign market (barytes, bulk, spath) and the halt in operations at certain deposits (Boujabeur, Jalta, Fej Hassine) led to a nearly general drop in production during the first nine months of the year. Particularly for barytes, the product used as drilling mud in oil activities, has experienced an unprecedented decline because of difficulties linked with the abundant supply on foreign markets.

#### Chemical Industries

The chemical industries sector decline slightly, mainly because of halts for maintenance of the ICM [Maghreb Chemical Industries] scheduled in February and March, but there was also a drop in industrial output due to the quality of the phosphates processed. Thus, production declined 10.5 percent for phosphoric acid, 9.4 percent for DCP [expansion unknown] and 2.5 percent for DAP [nitrogenous, phosphated diammonium]. For TSP46% [expansion unknown], TSP39% and MAP [expansion unknown], an increase occurred between the first nine months of 1983 and the same period in 1984.

On the commercial level, exports of phosphate derivatives generally showed a favorable trend, enjoying the effect of the stronger dollar. Most products increased in value despite the drop in volume. For phosphoric acid, exports during the first nine months rose by 6.9 percent in value (75.5 MD compared with 70.6 MD) despite the 13.2-percent drop in quantities exported (260,400



tons compared with 300,100 tons). The same is true of DAP, which registered a decline in quantity of 13 percent, but a slight increase in value (12.4 percent), explained by a better price and also the stronger dollar. DCP [expansion unknown] experienced the same trend. Regarding exports of MAP and TSP39%, there is growth in the volumes exported (up 35 and 3.2 percent respectively) and also receipts (up 53.6 and 2.4 percent).

Concerning TSP46% exports, they declined in volume (15.3 percent) and value (6 percent), mainly due to the decline in demand and stagnation in prices.

#### Building Materials Industries

The sector of industries related to construction materials, ceramics and glass (IMCCV) experienced a favorable trend during the first nine months of 1984 as a result of the strong demand of the sector of building and public works, which this year showed a sharp recovery, and the contribution of the Enfidha cement works, which went into full production this year. Regarding binding materials, cement production rose by over 11 percent during the first nine months of 1984, totaling 2,031,600 tons. However, this rate of growth will probably decline slightly during the fourth quarter because of maintenance shutdown at certain units and also the slump at the Oum-Khelil Cement Industries (CIOK). Regarding lime, there was a 1-percent drop during the period under consideration for artificial lime (320,000 tons compared with 324,400) and a drop of 12.3 percent for hydraulic lime (79,700 tons compared with 90,000 tons).

The drop in lime production is due, among other things, to the maintenance shutdown at CAT [Tunisian Synthetic Cement Company].

#### Iron and Steel Industry

In the iron and steel industry, production estimates for the year underway will far exceed performance for 1983. In fact, during the first nine months of 1984, production of reduced metal, rolled products, billets and metallic structures rose within a range of 5.3 to 8.9 percent. Only production of wire dropped 7.2 percent within the same period.

#### Automobile Assembly

Automobile production showed a noteworthy increase during the first nine months of 1984, especially after the startup of the new STIA II [Tunisian Automobile Industry Company] unit. The increase in production involved Peugeot 404 pickup trucks and industrial vehicles, which rose 46.3 and 32 percent respectively during the first nine months of 1983 and 1984. However, there was a decline in the production of private cars and buses, whose number dropped 6 and 47 percent respectively. This drop is mainly explained by the break in supplies by STIA suppliers.

#### Textiles

Because of marketing difficulties imposed by the EEC quota system, production of the textile industries declined, particularly in spinning and weaving.

However, finishing registered a slight increase. Finally, it should be pointed out that production in the sector of the agrofood industries rose sharply this year because of a very favorable agricultural situation (record production of olives, citrus fruits and tomatoes). This increase resulted in turn in greater production of olive oil and tomato paste.

#### Renewed Confidence

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 21 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] The economic recovery that began in Tunisia early in the year is being consolidated and available economic indicators show a net resurgence of economic activity. Remarkably enough, the recovery is accompanied by stable prices, independently of any renewal of inflationary trends. Observers note that the Tunisian economic is cautiously emerging from the stagnation resulting from foreign deregulation and the world recession, which hit the Tunisian production apparatus hard. Since the beginning of the year, an adjustment has been tangible with more sustained internal demand and, for the past several months, a resumption of Tunisian sales abroad. At the same time, there is a renewal of financial activity that has been echoed abroad, inasmuch as the big international banks have advanced Tunisia \$230 million for a Tunisian demand of only \$100 million.

Tunisia will therefore gain access to the ECU (EEC accounting unit) market on the occasion of the international loan it issued at the end of July, which constitutes an African and Arab first on the international money market.

The signing of the loan, expected at the end of October, is now set for 27 November in Tunis. The bankers, who had been ready for over a month, expected that the final date would be communicated to them by the Central Bank of Tunisia (BCT), responsible for issuing the loan. Paradoxically enough, the delay is due to the enthusiastic reception of the international banks. The BCT, which was asking only \$100 million, received an offer of \$230 from the five leading banks it solicited: the ABC [Arab Banking Corp.], the BAI [expansion unknown], the CCF [expansion unknown], the Bank of Tokyo and Chase Manhattan Bank, with \$50 million being supplied by the five (\$10 million each) and \$180 by the other participating banks. But the 1984 Budget provides only an amount equivalent to 68 million dinars, a little under \$100 million. Furthermore, after a precise evaluation of the needs of the country and the money available from local financial establishments, the BCT, traditionally cautious, decided to accept only \$130 million in the form of a "sovereign" financial loan guaranteed by the state. In addition to this budgeted amount, the BCT contracted for a second loan of \$50 million within the framework of a "club deal." The Arab Banking Corporation (ABC) was made responsible for setting up the loan, officially aimed at financing the participation of the Tunisian Government in the capital of the BTKD (Tunisian-Kuwaiti Development Bank). This means a total of \$180 million which, according to one of the bank officials, could meet the needs of the Tunisian balance of payments until the end of 1985.

The \$130 million were underwritten by some 30 major international banks, plus the five banks in charge. They all agreed to renew for this loan the quite

advantageous conditions Tunisia enjoyed in 1983: a repayment period for the principal spread out over 4 years, following a grace period of 4 years (or a total of 8 years), a margin .5 percent over the LIBOR [London Interbank Offered Rate] for the first 5 years and .625 percent for the remaining 3 years. This same loan was divided into two installments: one of \$85.5 million and one of \$57.8 million ecus (the equivalent of \$44.5 million). As for the so-called "club deal," it granted the same amortization conditions.

These are all elements that confirm that the recovery is underway and that the problem is to transform it into a stable, lasting rate of growth.

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## TUNISIA

### INCREASE IN 1985 BUDGET FOR AGRICULTURE, FISHING

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 29 Nov 84 p 7

[Article: "Agriculture: Genuine Promotion For All Regions"]

[Text] On 10 November 1984, 146 projects amounting to over 60 million dinars had been approved by the Agency for the Promotion of Agricultural Investments (APIA). They include 54 small and medium-size projects (32 approved and fully financed and 22 for which financing is currently sought) and 92 large projects (64 approved and fully financed and 28 for which financing is currently sought). The projects approved and fully financed represent a total of 50,616,205 dinars, whereas the projects approved but for which financing is currently sought total 9,390,845 dinars.

The National Bank of Tunisia is the main source of financing for small and medium-size projects (19 projects totalling 657,711 dinars) followed by the Special Agricultural Promotion Fund (4 projects totalling 170,810 dinars) and the National Bank for Agricultural Promotion (3 projects totalling 156,000 dinars). On the other hand, 71.8 percent of the large projects, i.e. 46 out of a total of 64 projects approved and fully financed on 10 November 1984, were financed by the National Bank for Agricultural Promotion (for a total amount of 11,824,349 dinars) followed by the National Bank of Tunisia (20 projects totalling 279,380 dinars).

Finally, the rates of self-financing are respectively 12.55 percent for small and medium-size projects and 4.15 percent for large projects.

As for the number of small and medium-size projects and large projects approved at that date and located in the Northwest, Center and South governorates (Beja, Jendouba, Le Kef, Siliana, Kairouan, Kasserine, Sidi Bouzid, Gabes, Medenine and Gafsa), they were respectively 12 and 33, amounting to a total of 16,374,948 dinars with the following breakdown: 862,026 dinars for small and medium-size projects and 15,512,958 dinars for large projects. Le Kef was the largest beneficiary of these projects: 6 small and medium-size projects, i.e. 50 percent of the total, amounting to 234,353 dinars, and 13 large projects, i.e. close to 40 percent of the total, amounting to 1,144,103 dinars. Next comes the Siliana governorate with close to 8 percent of all these projects, and a total investment of 3,720,260 dinars. In terms of investments, Jendouba is the leader among these governorates, with a total of 7,866,000 dinars.

Here is a breakdown of these projects and investments by governorate:

Governorates	Number of Projects			Amount of Investments (in Dinars)		
	Small & Med.-Size Projects	Large Projects	Total	Small & Med.-Size Projects	Large Projects	Total
Beja	1	4	5	68,000	614,024	682,024
Jendouba	-	2	2	-	7,866,000	7,866,000
Le Kef	6	13	19	234,353	1,114,103	1,378,456
Siliana	2	6	8	426,000	3,294,260	3,720,260
Kairouan	-	2	2	-	322,267	322,267
Kasserine	1	4	5	30,773	337,504	368,277
Sidi Bouzid	1	-	1	92,000	-	92,000
Gabes	-	1	1	-	840,800	849,800
Medenine	1	1	2	10,800	1,085,000	1,095,900

Still on 10 November, the breakdown of these projects among the various branches of agriculture was as follows:

- livestock farming: 26 small and medium-size projects and 28 large projects for a total of 33,652,862 dinars, i.e. 66.49 percent of all investments;

- tree growing and hothouse crops: 6 small and medium-size projects and 27 large projects for total amount of 5,470,883 dinars (10.81 percent of all investments).

- fisheries: 7 large projects for a total of 8,936,000 dinars, i.e. 17.65 percent of all investments allocated.

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## TUNISIA

### CITRUS PRODUCTION DOWN

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 9 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Kamel Bouaouina: "The Citrus Campaign: Production Down By 12.3 Percent; Local Market As a Regulator"]

[Text] Since independence, citrus growing has become a major tree-growing venture in the country, with vine and olive growing. The planted acreage has increased steadily since 1956, after the "habous" were eliminated and the old olive forest pulled up. From 6,000 hectares in 1956, the acreage rose to 12,000 hectares in 1962, then 14,000 in 1976. Since then, however, planting appears to have been hindered by the increasing irrigation-water deficit in the Cap Bon area.

Indeed, 85 percent of all Tunisian citrus crops are grown in the Cap Bon peninsula, the remaining 15 percent being grown mostly in the Tunis and Bizerte governorates.

Table 1

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
Cap Bon	11,000
Tunis	1,800
Bizerte	800
Jendouba	250
Beja	150
Kairouan	200
Sahel and South	300

Most citrus plantations are very young, dating back to less than 40, or even less than 20 years: 56.4 percent of all citrus trees were less than 20 years old in 1980. This is evidenced by the low density of trees per hectare--263 trees on the average--and by the low rate of parcelling of the land. Small and medium-size farms (less than 5 hectares) account for 60 percent of the acreage and approximately 6,300 farmers, with an average of 1.4 hectares. Plantations made after 1974 cover only 600 hectares in 1984. This

is a very good illustration of the relative potential for an extension of the acreage allocated to this crop. Oranges are the leading variety of citrus fruit grown in Tunisia: they account for approximately 50 percent of the total citrus crop, followed by clementines (16 percent), sweet oranges (7 percent), mandarin oranges (7 percent), lemons (8 percent), bitter oranges (3 percent) and other varieties (grapefruit, limes) (8 percent).

#### Variable Production

Despite the considerable growth of the acreage planted with citrus trees, there has been no corresponding production increase and, in addition, production remained variable from year to year. Citrus production during the 1983-1984 campaign was considerable: 220,000 tons. It was characterized by a relatively high percentage of small-size fruit. Estimates for the 1984-1985 campaign project a production of 193,000 tons, including 114,500 tons of Malta oranges. The resulting deficit is of the order of 12.3 percent (see Table 4).

Yields remain low: 8.2 tons per hectare, and they are smaller at Cap Bon (only 6 tons per hectare on the average) than around Tunis (10 tons per hectare at La Soukra). But with 6 tons per hectare, citrus fruit growers cannot fully cover the operating costs required for nationwide development. This is due primarily to conditions of a structural nature, having to do with soil types, land-property patterns, tree age and density, and poor operating conditions, which account for the small production. The water deficit results not only in low yields but also in the continued decline of crop quality (small-size fruit that are increasingly less juicy). The problem of the water deficit, especially around Cap Bon, will be solved only when the master plan for water supply in the North is completed. Citrus orchards will have to wait until 1985 to receive adequate irrigation.

#### The Regulating Role of Domestic Demand

A large part of the citrus production is consumed domestically: 65 to 80 percent compared with only one half during the previous decade. Domestic consumption rose from 12.7 kg per person in 1970 to 16.7 kg in 1975 and 22 kg in 1980. The Sixth Plan projects consumption figures of 24.6 kg by 1986 and 26.8 kg by 1991 (see Table 2).

The domestic citrus fruit consumption by area also shows considerable imbalance: over 83 percent of the citrus fruits consumed in Tunisia are absorbed by urban areas in the northeast and in the east. Tunis alone accounts for 60 percent. Selling our citrus crops on the local market could be a way of disposing of our excess production. But domestic sales are still characterized by the diversity and multiplicity of commercial middlemen forming a chain from the producer to the consumer, which entails very high costs. This results in an inflation of the profit margin through [as published] a reduction of prices paid by consumers. The Ministry of Economy must act at this level and attempt an effective effort to convince middlemen not to buy above a certain price. This price-control effort is important insofar as the domestic market can be a promising market, considering how little we export.

Table 4

Districts	Malta Oranges	Clemen- tines	Wildings Mandarin Oranges	Lemons	Other Varieties	Total (tons)		
						1983- 1984	1984- 1985	Percent Drop
Menzel Bouzelfa	50,000	7,000	3,000	1,000	6,000	77,500	67,000	13.5
Beni Khalled	12,000	1,500	900	1,000	2,300	20,300	17,700	12.8
Zaouit Jedidi	10,000	800	700	500	1,700	15,500	13,700	11.6
Soliman	11,000	1,500	1,000	700	1,500	19,400	15,700	19.1
Grombalia	8,000	1,500	900	2,000	2,400	16,700	14,800	11.4
Bou Argoub	4,000	1,000	900	8,500	1,600	16,700	16,000	4.2
Hammamet	1,200	1,500	800	5,000	1,000	11,200	9,500	15.2
Nabeul-Korba- Others	1,800	1,200	800	800	1,500	7,500	6,100	18.7
Subtotals:								
- Cap Bon	98,000	16,000	9,000	19,500	18,000	184,800	160,500	13.2
- Tunis-Ariana-								
B. Arous	11,000	2,500	1,500	1,000	3,500	21,800	19,500	10.6
- Bizerte	4,000	900	300	1,000	2,800	9,400	9,000	4.3
- Other regions	1,500	500	100	100	1,800	4,000	4,000	4.3
Grand Totals:								
- 1984/1985	114,500	19,900	10,900	21,600	26,100	-	193,000	
- 1983/1984	128,700	24,500	13,000	23,800	30,000	220,000		
Percent drop	11.1	18.8	16.2	9.3	13		12.3	



Table 2. Domestic Demand For Citrus and Citrus Quantities Available For Exporting and Processing (1970 through 1991)

Category	1970	1975	1980	[1986]	1991
Population (millions)	5.5	6.0	6.6	7.3	8.14
Consumption per person (kg/year)	12.7	16.7	22	24.6	26.8
Domestic consumption (tons/year)	70,000	100,000	145,000	180,000	220,000
Total average production	102,000	128,000	173,000	250,000	320,000
Available for exporting	32,000	28,000	25,000	50,000	70,000
Available for processing			3,000	20,000	30,000

Table 3. Destination of Exports

Countries	Campaigns		
	1981-1982	1982-1983	1983-1984
France	18,024	14,958	27,316
Yugoslavia	-	-	2,746
Saudi Arabia	-	-	274
FRG	25	-	408
Holland	95	-	144
England	-	-	518
Switzerland	-	-	197
Austria	-	-	5
Sweden	-	-	5
Total (in tons)	18,144	14,958	31,613

#### Looking For New Markets

For this campaign, 30 to 32 thousand tons are expected to be exported, i.e. 27,000 to our traditional market and the remainder to new markets (Saudi Arabia, FRG, Holland, England, Sweden, Switzerland) (see Table 3).

The French market remains the largest outlet for Tunisian citrus. Malta oranges account for nearly all the tonnage exported. But the French trading channels are long and obsolescent. They also consist of too many middlemen (trading agents, salesmen, wholesalers, local wholesalers and retailers). The GIAF [expansion unknown] is trying to promote direct sales to French distributors and to diversify buyers through agreements with Yugoslavia, the FRG, England, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden and Hungary. It grants subsidies for exports to other markets (40 to 70 millimes per kilo). But selling on the French market remains more profitable and the conquest of new interesting markets is difficult because Tunisia does not produce much and because its products are not competitive enough compared with those of other Mediterranean countries. They were already subject to EEC regulations, and will furthermore suffer the redoubtable competition of Greece and Spain. This situation may get worse in the future. The only solution is to bet on the local market and promote domestic consumption.

## SPOILS OF SAHARAN BATTLE REPORTED

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 3 Nov 84 p 122

[Article by Pierre Branche: "For the Moroccans, Fabulous Booty, Made in the USSR"]

[Text] In fewer than 5 hours, on Saturday, 13 October 1984, a column of 2,000 Polisario Front soldiers, after confronting the Moroccan army, left 100 dead on the battleground and lost 12 armored vehicles out of 80 and a large quantity of sophisticated weapons and equipment: tanks, guns and missile launchers. After 2 years of relative calm, this flareup signals a new turn in the conflict in Western Sahara.

"New, these Russian armored vehicles are brand new, these famous BMP. Look, still stuck to the rear door of the conveyor, there are certificates in Russian characters, with the stamp of the Soviet administration," Colonel Arzaz, the commander of the Zag sector, commented to our special correspondent.

The odometer on one of the 12 ton armored vehicles showed 168 km. "That is just about," the colonel said, "the distance between Tindouf and Zag. We can easily see the scenario. Landing in Oran, this equipment was shipped by train to Colomb-Bechar, then by tank carrying trucks to Tindouf. There, they did not even give the soldiers the time to train seriously! They had to pierce our wall before the next meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis-Ababa so they could say that they were occupying 'Saharan territory.' They failed."

We climbed back into a Puma helicopter. In a series of hops, at an altitude of 150 meters, we flew over that famous Moroccan wall, which has been steadily moving for the past year toward the east and the south, in order to take back what was once Spanish Sahara, which the Moroccans consider as an integral part of their kingdom.

"Except for Algeria and its progressive allies," said Colonel Hadou Kejji, who commands the Amgala sector, across from Mauritania, "there is no one. When we take prisoners, we propose to the Algerians to give them back. But just as Boumedienne did in the past, Chadli Ben Jedid today denies that these soldiers exist. If they did, that would mean recognizing before the African and international community that it is Algeria which is directing things and manipulating the Saharan puppet state."

Colonel Kejji commands a Vauban style fort which he has built on one of his hills overlooking the obligatory passage in which there is still a Spanish blockhouse. He resembles the hero of the "Desert of the Tartars," who, in Dino Buzzati's novel, waits day after day for an enemy to show himself.

In Haouza also Colonel Abid Tria is building a permanent stone and concrete barracks. But this is of symbolic importance since Haouza was chosen as the "historical capital" by the Saharans. A strange city, consisting of a sanded up well and the ruins of a Spanish fortification. And yet, 2 years ago, the communist municipality of Mans was not afraid to decide upon and to celebrate (in France)...a pairing of cities!...

Today, calmly, Colonel Tria shows me the plans for a water system under construction, the houses, in stone and cob, in which 300 people are already living, the cafe and, as he says jokingly, the "supermarket," that is, the combination grocery, butcher shop and pharmacy. Yes, Haouza still exists, but it is actually Moroccan, both in fact and at heart.

Smara also has tripled its population (20,000 inhabitants). The army left room for a civilian "boss," after having secured the area. Just as it did in Hayoun (population 100,000) in which the governor Salah Zemrag, who met me at the end of the trip at a large barbecue, told me seriously: "Look, inspect, ask questions, see for yourself. This city is growing faster than Brasilia, in harmony and in peace. It is the symbol of Moroccan dynamism and the real answer to the propaganda which is being spread in the face of our reality."

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. "Sharks" at 2 billion a piece. The Soviets have offered about 50 to the Polisario Front, through Algiers. During the clash in Zag, the Moroccans captured seven.
2. The rout. The Polisario Front "aggressors" bolted. This stock of munitions is going to increase Moroccan reserves.
3. The fort. Moroccan soldiers wait for an enemy to appear. It is true that defense system is really dissuasive.

8956

CSO: 4519/37

## TRADE STATISTICS REPORTED

Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 1 Sep 84 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Central Statistics Organization has issued its report on statistics pertaining to Bahrain's foreign trade for 1983.

This information was supplied to AL-ADWA' by an official source in the Central Statistics Organization, who said that the report was prepared according to standard international classifications.

The report is comprised of all the details pertaining to Bahrain's trade balance, which includes the country's exports and imports. It also contains data on products prepared for export and "transit" goods.

According to the source, the statistics showed that Bahrain's non-oil exports for 1983 totaled 169.9 million dinars compared to 152.5 million dinars in 1982, representing an increase of 10.8 percent.

Oil exports fell from 1,182.1 million dinars in 1982 to 972 million dinars in 1983.

The source indicated that exports of the industrial areas decreased from 54.7 million dinars in 1982 to 31 million dinars in 1983. The source said that combined exports for 1983 totaled 1,172.9 million dinars versus 1,389.3 million dinars in 1982.

The source explained that Bahrain's imports--aside from oil and the industrial areas--totaled 547.3 million dinars in 1983 versus 496.6 million dinars in 1982.

Bahrain's oil imports totaled 536.2 million dinars in 1983 compared to 693.9 million dinars in 1982, while imports of the industrial areas in 1983 totaled 142.9 million dinars versus 132.9 million dinars in 1982.

This brings the total value of Bahrain's 1983 imports to 1,226.4 million dinars versus 1,323.4 million dinars in 1982.

The source indicated that Bahrain imported 6,577 kilograms of gold during 1983. Switzerland was the largest exporter of gold to Bahrain with 3,031

kilograms followed by the Netherlands with 2,645 kilograms and the United Kingdom with 474 kilograms.

The UAE headed the list of states from which Bahrain imported goods during 1983 on the basis of weight. Bahrain imported 1,310,196,892 kilograms of products from the UAE, the majority consisting of building materials. These imports had a total value of 11,269,478 dinars. Japan headed the list of states exporting products to the country on the basis of value. The value of Japanese exports to Bahrain totaled 97,810,950 dinars for 288,776,764 kilograms of products.

8591

CSO: 4404/30

## TRAINING PROGRAM AIMS AT INCREASING NATIVE WORKFORCE

Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 15 Sep 84 p 6

[Text] Training is undoubtedly the sole legitimate means toward the Bahrainization of employment in all sectors. It is foolish to think that Bahrainization can be achieved in any sector before the implementation of successful training plans. Therefore, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has placed great emphasis on this approach and is working to apply it through a number of activities, programs, and projects.

The ministry has established the Higher Council for Vocational Training to formulate training policy at the state level. The ministry established the Manpower Development Administration to undertake the implementation of training programs for all sectors. It is now implementing the 10,000-trainee program, and the vocational training center in the city of 'Aysa is expanding and developing year by year.

Dr Jasim Abu Suhayl, acting director of the Manpower Development Administration, talked to us about training and training programs.

## 10,000 Project

Dr Abu Suhayl said: "Some 502 trainees were registered for the 10,000-trainee project during the 1982-83 academic year. This represents the number of students who took college courses at Gulf College alone. Some 426 of these students took examinations. These numbers represent a 10-percent increase over previous years."

He said: Some 302 out of 626 trainees passed their courses. In addition, 80 trainees who are studying professional accounting and bookkeeping in England have not yet received their grades.

"There are 42 trainees from the latest group in the program who have failed.

"Some 80 students in administrative studies have graduated from the program this year. These include 23 in computers, 20 in mechanical engineering, 12 in electrical engineering, 5 in precision instrumentation, and 12 in secretarial."

He said: "The success rate has been 100 percent in advanced and intermediate administration, 95 percent at the basic supervision level, and 50 percent in clerical skills.

#### 153 Graduates

"There were 153 women graduates in office work at the Polyglot Schools Ltd. These included 25 young women who obtained Pitman certificates in Great Britain.

"Some 18 women were enrolled in computer programming in the administrative advisory group. Of these women, 15 obtained diplomas in computer programming with great success.

"As for other training programs outside the 10,000-trainee plan, 91 individuals from various companies and organizations were trained as follows:

- 40 trainees in basic supervision;
- 33 trainees in intermediate administrative supervision; and
- 18 trainees in advanced administration."

He said: "Additional training was provided to 153 trainees in workshop courses, 19 trainees in time management skills, 13 trainees in the process of interviewing and selection skills, 29 individuals in leadership skills, 23 trainees in business letter writing, 14 trainees in effective communication, 16 trainees in decisionmaking and problem solving, and 29 others in miscellaneous courses.

"There are approximately 475 trainees studying in the vocational students project. All of these students have been hired by organizations and companies.

"In conjunction with the Labor Ministry's policy of making training opportunities available to everyone, it has been decided to open the doors of the vocational training center for evening training without restriction or condition. The aim of this decision is to contribute in one form or another to the plan for the Bahrainization of jobs and to produce suitable numbers of native technical cadres to meet the needs of employers, who currently fill positions with foreign workers.

"It should also be mentioned that there has been a big response to the vocational students program among holders of preparatory diplomas since the decision was made to guarantee a position for the trainee even in the first year of study. Employers, particularly contractors, are now eagerly seeking to employ vocational students as soon as they enter the program."

#### Sending of Trainees

Mr Jasim Abu Suhayl said: "The Higher Council for Training is placing great emphasis on the training needs of the organizations that help pay the costs of training. The council sent 96 trainees to courses inside and outside

Bahrain this year. Some 69 of these individuals attended courses inside the country, while 17 trainees were sent to America, Canada, England, Germany, and France. The cost for just those trainees sent abroad was 74,234 dinars.

"The Ministry of Labor is maintaining its progress in the field of training, on which it places maximum importance, because it sees training as the optimum way to decrease dependence on foreign labor.

"If we were to single out one of these areas for particular praise, we must praise the decision to make the training centers freely available to the citizens for evening training without any restrictions or conditions. If the Labor Ministry were to give this measure the importance it deserves, it would be able to achieve what it has not been able to accomplish in past years. Through this measure alone, we would be able to make the learning of trades and professions attractive to our citizens and encourage them to accept work and earn their income in these fields. Such trades are really profitable, particularly carpentry, tinsmithing, dyeing, mechanics, electrical trades, and the like.

"However, the truth is that if this measure is carried out in monotonous fashion without a successful promotional campaign to inform and enlighten the people, it will not bear fruit. In fact, it will probably come to a halt in mid-course. I propose that the complete responsibility be given to the General Bahrain Workers Committee so that they can promote the project and inform the people about it.

"I also propose that we eliminate the obstacles and the lack of cooperation that now exist between the committee and the information media. However, this should not prevent the Ministry of Labor from assuming the major role in making it every Bahraini's concern to take advantage of some form of training opportunity. It is unreasonable to allow the percentage of foreign labor in the country to remain at 58 percent, with 75 percent in the private sector and 80 percent in the small organizations and installations."

8591

CSO: 4404/30



## NEW LAND, SEA DEFENSE SYSTEMS DEVELOPED

Haifa INNOVATION in English No 107, Oct 84 pp 3-4

[Text]

Tel Aviv — Several novel systems are now available from Rafael, Israel's armament development authority, for the effective defense of land and sea forces against detection and location by hostile radar.

For ground forces, Rafael has developed a self contained radar jammer, which can be mounted on a wheeled or tracked vehicle, to operate wherever military units are in action. In the acquisition mode, this system measures the frequency, direction, pulse width and amplitude of radar transmissions, to detect, identify and locate such hostile installations. The information collected in this manner is also available for intelligence purposes.

The high power jammer can be operated in semi- or fully automatic modes. A high ERP jammer is used over a wide band of frequencies, to deal with up to three threats simultaneously. Frequency and direction are set by the operator, to prevent the enemy from locating friendly forces. A range of up to 30 km (almost twenty miles) can be covered, over a 180° angle.

For naval vessels, Rafael offers two effective rocket powered chaff dispersion systems, to confuse the enemy and his homing weapons. The short range chaff rocket (SRCR) comes in three-rocket launcher pods and provides reliable perimeter defense for the distraction of incoming radar guided

enemy missiles, during their search and target acquisition phases. Mounted on a standard machinegun mount, the SRCR is easily loaded by a single crew member. Its firing unit usually is located on the bridge or in the ship's electronic counter measures center.

The long range chaff rocket (LRCR) is a naval search radar decoy system; it superimposes phantom targets on hostile radar screens. Even experienced operators will find it impossible to differentiate between hard targets and those "created" by the LRCR, causing the enemy considerable confusion, incorrect tactical decisions and the waste of costly weaponry.

Each LRCR is powered by a two stage solid fuel rocket motor: one stage provides a powerful initial boost, while the other sustains it during its long burning long range second stage. Chaff is dispersed automatically, when an altitude fuze energized from the launcher goes into action. The system is controlled from an electronic module, usually mounted on the bridge.

The LRCR's twin barrel launcher is very compact: only 1.25 meters long and less than half as wide, it can be accommodated even on very small vessels. It is usually mounted on the side of the superstructure and can be loaded easily by a single crew member.

## EFFECTS OF DEFENSE BUDGET CUTS DESCRIBED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Joshua Brilliant]

[Text]

TEL AVIV. - The Israel Defence Forces is planning to abolish certain units and to dismiss personnel because of budget cuts. To slash 25 per cent from the budget for the Quartermaster Branch it is planning to service emergency stores of armoured vehicles less often and to lower soldiers' living standards.

The IDF is about to complete the outline for these cuts and will work out the details later, Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy told military reporters here Sunday.

The cuts are bound to affect Israel's preparedness for war, Levy said. But to reduce the impact of the cuts the IDF will launch a campaign against waste in the hope that even modest savings will provide funds for projects that would otherwise be slashed.

The plans envisage changes in combat units but the main details are classified.

One change will be the servicing of tanks, armoured personnel carriers and other armoured vehicles in emergency stores once every three years instead of every two years.

Some vehicles would then require more extensive work than before but overall, maintenance would be cheaper, Aluf Haim Erez, the head of the Quartermaster Branch in GHQ, said.

The army is also planning to overhaul existing equipment, which in the past it would have replaced. It

said that a new tank engine costs \$96,000, but overhauling one should cost only \$15,000.

Non-essential units will be severely curtailed or abolished, Levy said, citing the Gadna (youth battalions), the mental health services and some educational activities.

He said he wants to dismiss some 2,000 career soldiers and civilian employees.

Those remaining in the army will have to cope with a reduced standard of living. Transportation for taking soldiers home for leave from field exercises will be cut. Also some soldiers will have to live in two-man tents instead of the more spacious tents now in use.

An order for 2,000 big tents has already been cancelled, for a saving of \$6-7 million. The money saved will be used to buy other equipment and ammunition, Erez said.

Senior officers reckoned, however, that little can be done to save on soldiers' food which costs daily an average of \$1.40 per person.

The army could have coped with the budget cuts by reducing training, curtailing research and development projects and not sending officers for academic studies.

But that would have a negative long-term effect, Levy said. A reduction in training for standing-army units would affect soldiers' performance over the 30 years they serve in the reserves.

## PERES' FIRST 100 DAYS IN POWER ANALYZED

TA141143 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 14 Dec 84 Weekend Supplement p 4

[Arye Tzimuqi commentary: "The Government's 100 Days of Grace: The Trend--Compromises Rather Than Confrontations"]

[Text] "I read a poll in the paper today showing that your popularity as prime minister is on the rise. Your success is also that of the entire government and that is why I must tell you that I am really pleased." These words were addressed this week to Prime Minister Shim'on Peres by none other than a Likud minister. He was seconded by a Labor Party minister, who said: "Whatever the assessments of this government, one thing is clear: In the last 3 months, Shim'on Peres managed to strengthen his personal standing and to raise his prestige." However, contrary to what the Likud minister believes, the Labor Party minister regards Peres' success mainly as that of the Alignment.

Whatever the case may be, both these utterances reflect the feeling prevailing in the political establishment that toward the end of "the 100 days of grace" of the government headed by Shim'on Peres, one may definitely talk about accomplishments and successes. Peres has proven that the unity government can work despite the differences of political opinion, and that is why he deserves all the praise showered on him.

Peres' way to guarantee the functioning of the government may be described as follows: An attempt to reach a wide consensus rather than unambiguous decisions and to secure a compromise rather than create a confrontation. This is how Peres has been able to circumvent various obstacles and impediments elegantly, while keeping his options open.

Peres does not move head-on and does not look for a direct decision. He prefers the indirect and roundabout way which frequently seems to be the longest but which ultimately leads him to his goal. fact is that the system works.

Peres' line of action on economic, security, and foreign affairs, as well as regarding inter-party politics and the relations within his own party, may be analyzed in light of this indirect approach.

--In the economic sphere, Peres has so far managed to avoid painful and unambiguous decisions. On the road to the package deal, he opted for making various concessions and compromises with all the partners. As far as he was concerned, the main thing was to sign the deal, and that was definitely accomplished. Despite the warnings of some partners and the reservations of others, the deal came into being and it will apparently be extended.

Some ministers resented Peres' decision to go on with the subsidization of basic commodities. However, his position on this subject was clear: The subsidies will continue. That is how he refrained from arousing the Histadrut's fury and the anger of the weaker segments of the population.

--Foreign and security affairs: Peres has so far abstained from taking any new and open initiatives, particularly toward Jordan and Egypt. He knows that the government might collapse because of the political issue, and he does not want to infuriate his Likud partners. On the other hand, he has managed to placate the doves in his own party by suggesting to them that "things are happening in the political sphere" anyway.

Indeed, although Peres has not yet succeeded in bringing Husayn to the peace-talks table, it is clear that a new atmosphere has been created in Israeli-Jordanian relations. The fact is that Peres and Husayn do not miss any occasion to signal each other that there is something to talk about. Contrary to various reports, they have not met personally. However, in meetings with various Western personalities Husayn has pointed out his hope that "Peres will succeed in bringing about a breakthrough in the region." Although the Jordanian king has publicly criticized the Israeli Government, he had nothing but praise for Peres.

An official breakthrough has not been made in relations with Egypt either. However, under the surface one can feel a change of tone and mood in Cairo and Jerusalem. There is talk of a possible Mubarak-Peres summit meeting and of possible solutions to the Tabah problem.

Peres is extremely cautious on foreign affairs, because he knows that "they are waiting for him around the corner." Shamir has more than once made plain that any political initiative unacceptable to the Likud would bring about the disintegration of the coalition. That is why Peres has taken the indirect approach. He has conducted successful visits in the United States and France and has thus received the credit of Likud members as well, while Alignment members feel that Peres is actually continuing to promote the most important issues--those related to the peace process in the region.

Hence, on political and security issues, Peres has been carefully making his way between the "doves" and the "hawks," while keeping all the options in his hand.

--In the sphere of inter-party relations, Peres has managed to establish personal relations with each and every member of the Likud's top echelon by profiting from their own private rivalries. Things have reached such a point that Likud ministers take pride in Peres' attitude toward them and consider Peres a supporter rather than a rival when it comes to their internal struggles.

What is Peres actually doing? He takes pains to maintain Shamir's honor and, in turn, the latter time and again explains to his Herut colleagues that the prime minister keeps him in the picture. Peres maintains close relations of confidence with David Levi and even exchanges notes with him during Cabinet sessions, and Levi does not conceal his pride about these notes. Peres promised "to back" Moda'i in all his economic measures and he has been keeping his promise while, for his part, Moda'i is occasionally forced to renege on his previous positions.

As for the "hot" issue of Minister Ari'el Sharon's absence, Peres has opted for not saying a thing, for neither leveling any criticism nor recalling Sharon. Peres knows that if he sets out to confront Sharon, he might force the Herut ministers to rally around the industry and trade minister. That is why he prefers to wait on the sidelines on this issue.

--Relations within the Labor Party: Here, too, Peres has taken the approach of establishing "special relationships" with his former rivals. He takes pains to let Rabin in on all the important debates and decisions. Rabin can wholeheartedly say that Peres does not hide anything from him.

The same applied to Yitzhaq Navon. The rancors which might have settled in after Navon quit the presidency have been cast aside and "harmony" now prevails between the two men.

In fact, Peres entrusts a large part of the coordinating contacts within the party and with the coalition partners to Minister Moshe Shahal, who enjoys Peres' full confidence. Shahal coordinates, compromises, and exerts pressure. Peres--who is anyway subject to time constrictions--trusts him completely.

To sum up the deeds of the Peres government, so far, the feeling is that the indirect approach is better. One should bear in mind that prior to the elections, a special committee set up by the Labor Party and headed by the man who currently serves as the Cabinet secretary, Yosi Beilin, prepared a memorandum about a plan of action for the first 100 days of a government headed by Peres, if such a government were established after the elections.

The memorandum spoke of cuts in the defense budget, a revision of the Lavi project, strengthening the partnership with France, resuming personal relations with Husayn, removing police affairs from the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry and setting up a separate ministry, reaching an economic package deal, and so on and so forth.

It now seems that even if not all the points of the memorandum have materialized, a significant part of them have nevertheless come true without any big hoopla and fanfare. If Yosi Beilin so wishes, there is no doubt he may very well say that the head of the national unity government, Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, is gradually implementing the recommendations which had originally been drawn for Shim'on Peres as prime minister of an Alignment government.

ISRAELI-MADE DISH RECEIVES SATELLITE BEAMS

TA161120 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 16 Dec 84 p 12

[Barukh Na'e report]

[Text] Within 2 weeks, every house in Israel will be able to receive television broadcasts directly from satellites. A Giv'atayim plant developed, and is producing, home kits to receive these broadcasts through a dish antenna installed on the roof.

In less than 2 weeks, the company will begin to market the first 20 systems it has manufactured. The cost of each such system will be somewhere between \$2,000 and \$3,000, and includes a fiberglass concave dish 2.44 meters in diameter. All residents of one apartment building, or all the inhabitants of one residential area whose houses are interlinked by cable, will be able to use one dish.

At the first stage, the dishes will only be able to receive the "Moscow 1" and "Moscow 2" broadcasts, which transmit Soviet broadcasts from the morning hours until 0100 in the morning. It will also be possible to receive the broadcasts of the Arab satellite that will soon be launched into space, and which will transmit the broadcasts of 10 Arab countries.

Two days ago, MA'ARIV was shown programs from the Soviet satellites: movies, sports programs, ballet, music, news (in Russian), and the circus. Reception was good, almost like the reception in Israel of the "Voice of Israel."

According to Nisim Kohen, the director-general of Panorama, the company that manufactures the dish antennas, it will also be possible to receive European broadcasts after an agreement is reached with the operators of the international satellite. Right now, because of different codes, the dish can only receive the video beams from that satellite (with the help of a special apparatus that needs to be added), but not the audio. The amplifier capable of decoding that satellite can only be obtained for a special fee.

Nisim Kohen said: "There is no legal block to installing the dishes. They are 2.44 meters in diameters--the maximum allowed by the Communications Ministry."

Two years ago there was an attempt to introduce Israel into the age of satellite reception. A certain company tried to import similar system, offered for \$20,000 at the time. The Communications Ministry then forbade importing or selling them, citing the argument that they were substandard, and the attempt failed.

CSO: 4400/50

## SHORTAGE OF FUNDS HALTS SETTLING IN JORDAN VALLEY

TA161110 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Dec 84 p 1

[Report by Gid'on Alon]

[Text] Some 100 apartments in Jordan Rift Valley settlements are empty and cannot be inhabited, because there are no funds to grant the new families initial aid.

Mikha (Pietro), one of the leaders of the Jordan Rift Valley settlers, said last night that in light of the serious economic situation in Israel, many young couples and families from all over the country (especially second or third generation Moshav residents) have appealed for settlement in the Jordan Rift Valley. However, it is impossible to comply with their request for lack of approximately \$15,000 to \$20,000 [sentence incomplete as published]

Only about 2,500 people reside today in the 17 farming settlements in the Jordan Rift Valley. Previous attempt to encourage young couples from the center of the country to move there have failed. (Pietro) emphasized that in order to settle the first houses in the Moshavim, it is necessary to amend the system of allocating settlement funds to places beyond the Green Line. He says that the Jordan Rift Valley settlements have applied to the cabinet and the World Zionist Organization with a request for an increase in their share of the overall budget "pie" slated for settlements beyond the Green Line in the 1985/1986 budget. This year that allocation amounted to \$36 million, of which 45 percent was transferred to the Judea and Samaria settlements, 25 percent to the Golan Heights, 25 percent to the Jordan Rift Valley, and 5 percent to the Gaza District settlements.

The leaders of the Jordan Rift Valley settlements maintain that without larger budget allocations it will be impossible to advance some projects, which have suffered from a freeze on development due to a lack of funds. According to the leaders of the settlements at the mouth of the Jordan River, so far \$3.5 million have already been invested, but only 4,000 dunams of the 13.5 earmarked for agriculture have been readied. They also noted that the agricultural experimentation ranch set up by a Galilee kibbutz (and deals with agricultural experiments for export) is in fact idle, because there are no financial resources to run it. They also complained that the residents of Na'ama in the Jordan Rift Valley still live in trailers because the permanent housing units have not yet been built.



## BRIEFS

GRANTS TO ARAB VILLAGES--Acre (Itim)--Grants of IS40,000 were presented yesterday to each of 25 Arab villages and local councils in Galilee by the prime minister's advisers on affairs of Arabs in Galilee, for cultural and sports activities. Office director Motti Mashiah said the money comes from the Wakf (Moslem trust) and is to help libraries buy books, to help schools buy books and other equipment. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Nov 84 p 3]

DUHAYSHAH DECLARED MILITARY AREA--The curfew on the refugee camp of Dehaishe south of Bethlehem was lifted yesterday after security forces detained two people in connection with a stone-throwing attack on a Border Police patrol Monday night. One policeman was slightly injured during the attack. The camp has meanwhile been declared a closed military area which bars anyone except local residents or the army from entering it. The order also prevents settlers, chiefly Hebron leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger, from entering the camp. On Monday, Levinger aides said that he had succeeded in renting a room from one of the Dehaishe residents but as the buildings belong to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the agreement was declared invalid. The wife of the man who is said to have rented the room to Levinger refunded his down payment, claiming that her husband was an alcoholic and was not responsible for his actions. Levinger continues to squat opposite the camp in a lone vigil to protest repeated rock-throwing at Israeli traffic. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Nov 84 p 3]

FLIGHTS TO SWAZILAND--Tel Aviv--Arkia will take over the charter flights to Swaziland started in September by Maof, which has since gone bankrupt. Arkia managing director Yossi Rosen told The Jerusalem Post yesterday he hopes to use one of Maof's Boeing 707s. The deal involves a South African company, Gateway International, which has contracted for 50 Maof flights to Swaziland. John de Klerk, Gateway's managing director, said the company has made a purchasing offer for the plane and would put it at Arkia's disposal. But the Boeing is mortgaged to the Bank Clali, one of Maof's creditors, and the government has blocked the plane's sale because of Maof's debt to it. Therefore, an old Boeing 707 which Arkia has leased from El Al may be used for the first flight on Sunday. The crew on future flights, however, will be the men who flew for Maof, Rosen said. The flight to southern Africa requires permission for overflights from African countries which do not have diplomatic

relations with Israel. Permission was given to Maof, and Rosen said Arkia has already got similar approval. Arkia will honour Maof's tickets to Swaziland for the dates set in them, Rosen said. Flights will be available at Maof's introductory price of \$599, he added. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Nov 84 p 3]

NOVEMBER TRADE DEFICIT DECREASE--Last month Israel's trade deficit decreased by 20 percent compared with the previous month. This follows an increase of 19 percent in exports and an increase [as heard] of 3 percent in imports. From Central Bureau of Statistics data published this morning, it transpires that the rapid improvement in this field is continuing. Over the first 11 months of 1984, the trade deficit decreased by 27 percent compared with the previous year. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0823 GMT 7 Dec 84 TA]

WORKERS FROM TERRITORIES--The Central Bureau of Statistics says 6 percent of the labor force originates from the administered areas. Over one-third of the work force in Judaea and Samaria is employed in Israel and one-half of the workers in the Gaza region. In the third quarter of the year, the number of Arab employees from the areas was down by 3 percent. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 9 Dec 84 TA]

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### RESULTS OF RECENT PNC MEETING, OUTLOOK FOR PALESTINIANS ANALYZED

#### Choices Facing Palestinians

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 251, 1-7 Dec 84 p 11

[Article by 'Imad al-Din Adib, Salih Qallab and Lima Nabil]

[Text] In the absence of an Arab position would the Syrian peace, the Jordanian-Egyptian peace or a Palestinian peace be better for Palestinians?

Three plans for political action are being presented to the Liberation Organization. Each one of them has its conditions, its profits and its losses.

What is even more difficult is that each one of them has its price.

What is the price that the Liberation Organization wants to pay? What is that price, particularly when that party that will be asked to give, that is, Israel, is not at all willing to give anything for peace.

It were as though it is the destiny of the PLO to be always contemplating several alternatives, the best of which is always the most difficult.

The PLO found itself cornered at the congress of the Palestine National Council [PNC] in Amman. It found itself in the historic position of having to weigh reason against emotion, principle against interest, and rhetorical speeches against specific political plans.

The plan that was presented by the Jordanian monarch to the PNC tested the organization's ability to make a single specific choice that was neither ambivalent nor ambiguous for its forthcoming action.

Does the organization want to become engaged in military action? If the answer to that question is yes, then how will it go about it?

Does the organization want to become engaged in diplomatic action? If the answer to that question is yes, then how will it go about it?

Does the organization want to undertake a Vietnam-like course of action, that is, fighting and negotiating simultaneously? If the answer to that question is yes, how will it go about that?

If the answer to all these questions is no, then the ensuing question is also how will the organization go about that?

One of the most significant ideas that came out of the daily sessions of the PNC that was held in Amman is one which states that a "yes and no" formula was no longer feasible for Palestinians. AL-MAJALLAH attended all the sessions of the council and listened to discussions between council members and their guests. These discussions, which went on till the early hours of dawn, were conducted in the meeting rooms of the congress, on the streets in Jordan, in Palestinian camps and in the rooms of senior officials.

Rousing expressions and emotional postures have no place among Palestinians.

A rational choice has to be made.

The romantic rationale which is offered by Palestinians of the old school who advocate returning to Palestine is facing today the reality of unfavorable Arab times and division in Palestinian institutions. Briefly, this is what the conflict in the sessions of this congress has been about.

Ever since the first PNC was convened in Jerusalem in 1964, no other meeting of the PNC has generated as many political questions as this one has. What is both odd and frightening is that these numerous questions are being raised at a time when both the Jordanians and the Palestinians are saying that nothing that can be called a solution has been set forth by any party.

AL-MAJALLAH's delegation was in Amman to answer as many of these questions as possible. Taking part in providing the answers were the colleagues, Lima Nabil, AL-MAJALLAH's correspondent in Amman; the colleague Salah Qallab, Palestinian affairs editor; and colleague 'Imad al-Din Adib, the editor-in-chief.

The following report is an attempt to formulate a comprehensive view that reveals what each one of the parties gained and lost.

#### Chairman Contemplates Resignation

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 251, 1-7 Dec 84 pp 12-13

[Article]

[Text] Most of the passengers on the Jordanian airline, 'Aliyah, flight 104 from London to Amman were members and guests of the Palestine National Council [PNC].

Each one of the passengers had important and fundamental questions on his mind. Why was the council being convened? Will there be a quorum? Will the organization split into two? Will the council split into two? Will Fatah become two organizations, or will the opposite happen?

Lt Col Salah al-Ta'mari, commander of the Ansar prisoners' camp in Lebanon and one of the most prominent members of the Resistance, and his wife, Princess Dina occupied two front seats in the first class compartment of the airplane. The

lieutenant colonel and his wife were going to Amman to attend the meetings of the PNC. I asked Lt Col Salah what he thought of the situation, and he said, "The council must be convened regardless of the price. The present situation cannot go on."

Princess Dina was not interested in watching the American movie that was being shown on the airplane. Her face showed how extremely worried she was about the current fragmentation of Palestinians. She commented, "I believe the council will be convened, and it will succeed in achieving its objectives. However, there will be fundamental issues that will have to be looked into. The most important of these is the unity of the organization's factions."

Lt Col Salah al-Ta'mari said as he recalled what happened at Ansar Camp, "Despite the gloomy situation that exists outside Ansar Camp, Palestinian solidarity in the camp at the time was greater than Arab solidarity outside the camp. We were not mere factions feuding and fighting with each other. We were like one man facing oppression." Then he added, "Do you believe that I was awarded medals by other military Palestinian organizations even though I am a member of Fatah? Our people have always had the ability to do the unexpected."

#### Worry Is Evident

The confidence with which Salah al-Ta'mari made that statement could not dispel the worry that was evident on his face. This conversation took place at night, a few hours before the congress was convened.

Lt Col Salah and Princess Dina were not the only ones who were worried. There was not a single Palestinian or a single Arab who could predict what the next few hours might bring. Would the next few hours fragment the Palestinians; or will this fragmentation be aborted by political processes?

Worry hung like a cloud over everybody before the congress was convened. At a late hour that night, on the 20th floor of the Regency Hotel in Amman the most anxious Palestinian in the world was Yasir 'Arafat.

Although the night was almost over and dawn was about to break, 'Arafat was still resisting sleep, pacing up and down the corridors of the 20th floor trying to rearrange his thoughts and his plans so he could face the coming hours. He was to deliver the opening address to the congress on the following day.

'Arafat proceeded to talk to himself. Will there really be a quorum? He would answer his own question and say, "Yes, there will be a quorum. All the evidence, the reports and assurances from colleagues indicate that there will be a quorum." Then 'Arafat would ask himself, "Will there be any new surprises in King Husayn's address?" Abu 'Ammar would answer his own question and say, "Information indicates that the Jordanian monarch has been harping on a set of ideas in all the meetings that we had last year. It is possible that these ideas can become [the basis for] a working paper for future action. However, the full text of what he will say is not precisely known."

Abu 'Ammar would ask himself, "Will my address be as well received as it should be?" And the answer would come, "Yes, of course it will be well received." But

then he would doubt his own reassurance and wonder, "What if I were to keep that paragraph in which I state that 'Because I am aware of the difficult historical situation, I am offering to this distinguished council my resignation from the Executive Committee of the PLO. God charges a person to do only what he can do. What a person earns is his to keep, and what he acquires is a debt he has to pay back.' Was it a better decision to keep that paragraph and not to delete it as some colleagues wished?"

Once again 'Arafat would answer his own question and say, "My colleagues insisted that I stay, and they declined to accept my resignation. The nature of the situation and the magnitude of the responsibility are such that I cannot appear as though I were relinquishing my duties."

It was a lengthy extended dialogue that touched the mind, the soul and heart of the man. He was beset by questions that went through his mind. That is the destiny of any person no matter how confident he is or integrated his mind and his heart are. Anxiety is a human phenomenon, but when the danger is four-dimensional, one's anxieties assume phenomenal proportions.

'Arafat is beset by dangers, as a man and an official. The Fatah movement and its leaders are being threatened. The organization's political import as well as the actual reality are being threatened. And the Palestinian people are beset by dangers inside the country and abroad.

#### The Awaited Moment

The moment that everyone had been waiting for came, and the meetings of the congress began under the largest and the tightest security measures that the Arab region has seen. Information obtained by AL-MAJALLAH affirmed that Jordanian security authorities were able to apprehend 7 groups that were planning to carry out violent operations while the congress was in session.

Despite the tight security measures and the careful scrutiny that everyone but the well-known leaders had to undergo, everyone entering or leaving the meeting rooms of the congress and the hotels [where all this was taking place] had to go through four stages of being searched. Jordanian security authorities managed to do all this most diplomatically.

When the opening sessions of the congress began, it was obvious that 'Arafat was going to get what he wanted. The fact that most visiting delegations, except for the Soviet Union's, were attending the congress affirmed that a quorum would be achieved. The secretary general of the Arab League, Mr Chadhli Qalibi, was also attending the congress, and that plus information that was available to Abu 'Ammar also affirmed that there would be a quorum for the congress.

It was obvious in his opening address to the congress that 'Arafat wanted to address all the forces that were casting doubts on the legitimacy of the PLO's leadership. He had all those people in mind when he read his address. Therefore, Abu 'Ammar's address was anticipatory; he was trying to respond to everything that had been said and to anticipate everything that could be said. He tried to address the minds of those people as well as the emotions of Palestinians everywhere.



The unexpected happened. 'Arafat refrained from attacking the dissidents, and he did not disparage those who did not attend the congress. He did not mention Syria or President al-Asad, and he did not attack either in any way.

#### The King's Address

The Jordanian monarch's address, however, was a document that was written with care and unusual precision. It defined the political course of action that was set for the king. The Jordanian monarch's address was based on five principal points.

1. It related the history of relations between Jordanians and Palestinians, starting with the king's great grandfather, al-Sharif Husayn, and ending at the moment of the king's address. This history was presented from the perspective of the Hashemite family.
2. The king spoke about a very important point: the bitter events of 1970 which led to clashes between Jordanians and Palestinians. However, the king neither mentioned nor alluded to the fact that what happened in September 1970 was the result of mistakes made by both sides. He also left the impression that he still held on to his previous view of these events. He left the impression that he still thought that what happened then was a normal reaction by the legitimate authority in Jordan which took action to protect Jordanian leaders from the excesses of the Palestinian Revolution.
3. The king offered a Jordanian interpretation of the reasons that led his country to accept the 1974 Rabat Summit Resolution to regard the PLO the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He gave the impression that one reason why current conditions had deteriorated is that Jordan was no longer exercising its responsibilities and representing the Palestinian people politically. That responsibility had been shifted to the Palestinian people and to the PLO.
4. With skill and political finesse King Husayn offered to have the PLO share Jordan's political responsibilities toward the people of the occupied land through a confederation that would be based on an equal partnership. He suggested that UN Resolution 242 be accepted and that an international conference be considered the suitable framework for finding a solution to the problem. He emphasized repeatedly that "the choice is yours. I will do anything but sign a separate peace..., and I will not act on your behalf." If the Palestinians choose to take part in actions based on these ideas, the king would be willing to go along with them. If they do not, then they alone would have to assume the responsibility [for the consequences], but they must always keep in mind that one of the reasons for the deterioration in the present situation is the fact that Jordan has not been carrying out its political responsibilities toward the Palestinians in the occupied land because that responsibility has been shifted to the PLO.

King Husayn affirmed that no political action in any form was being proposed to him at the time. He affirmed that there were no secret or public initiatives being proposed or undertaken. Two conclusions could be drawn from this.

--First, one may conclude from this affirmation that the king was assuring Syria, Palestinian dissidents and everyone else that no secret agreement was being made in the White House.

--Second--and that conclusion is derived from the first--if nothing is being proposed to Jordan, why then are efforts being made to prepare a joint political action plan?

#### Moderates Win in Council

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 251, 1-7 Dec 84 pp 13-15

#### [Article]

[Text] Whom was King Husayn addressing? The answer to that question comes from Mr 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, minister of Jordan's Royal Court and one of the architects of Jordan's foreign policy. "The speech was addressed to several forces. The king was addressing the PLO, Jordanians, residents of the occupied land, Americans and the Soviets."

When AL-MAJALLAH asked Mr Abu 'Awdah who wrote the king's speech and who formulated its political points, he laughed but did not answer.

The Jordanian monarch delivered his address at a time when information about a military buildup on the borders between Jordan and Syria was sporadic. It was also said that leaders of Egypt's and Jordan's air forces had consulted with each other about the means they could use to confront the situation in case information about this military buildup is confirmed.

#### What Does Jordan Want?

AL-MAJALLAH asked Mrs Layla Sharaf, Jordan's minister of information, who is close to people in decision-making positions in Amman, about the reasons behind King Husayn's initiative.

The minister said that the Jordanian monarch was very unhappy with deteriorating Arab conditions and with the fact that Israel's repressive measures in the occupied land were being intensified and its annexation of that land was being stepped up. She said the king feels that he cannot wait indefinitely for the Arab world to become convinced that positive action has to be taken to put an end to Israel's expansion. When the king presented his initiative, he took the trouble to affirm that he would not sign a separate peace and that he would not act on behalf of the Palestinian people nor take their place at any international conference. He said that UN Resolution 242 would be the starting point for a comprehensive settlement; it would not be the only resolution used to reach a settlement.

AL-MAJALLAH asked the minister, "Why are these ideas being set forth at this time?" Mrs Layla Sharaf replied, "When the Jordanian monarch set forth his ideas, he was extremely provoked by the language used recently in Arab politics. This political language speaks about emotions, postponements and confusing matters. Today, the Jordanian monarch is presenting realistic, practical ideas



that are based on rational principles. These ideas are being presented in a climate of uninhibited public dialogue."

The minister wondered, "Let me ask you this: What do you think our position would be if we were to assume, for example, that any agreement, let's say a new American agreement, were offered to us?" Then she added, "We must have the political mechanisms and foundations that would enable us to take action: to accept, reject or modify such an offer."

Layla Sharaf affirmed that the essence of King Husayn's philosophy in presenting these ideas is his desire to tell the Arab world, despite his faith in the Fes Summit initiative, "Don't let invariable elements cause you to come to a standstill."

A question arose: As he sat in the King Husayn Sports Arena listening to the Jordanian monarch's address, did Mr 'Arafat know in advance the complete text of the king's initiative?

Mr 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah said that Mr 'Arafat knew about some of King Husayn's ideas. He had found out about them in the course of numerous meetings they had had throughout the past year. However, he did not know the complete official text of the address that he heard in the opening session.

#### The Future of the Movement

A question arose: Is it possible that presenting the Jordanian initiative in this manner can intensify the Palestinian dispute?

It is obvious that Palestinian political action is divided into three principal coalitions:

--First, there is the PLO. We are referring here to the present legitimate command with its factions and its popular and political organizations.

--Second, there is the Palestinian Democratic Alliance, which is made up of the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Front. This alliance is the one that the legitimate command of the PLO is trying to regain and deal with on the basis of the fact that it is an alliance of forces that do not share the opinions of the legitimate command.

--Third, there is the so-called National Alliance; it is made up of the Popular Front - the General Command, which is headed by Ahmad Jibril. It is also made up of the Popular Struggle Front, al-Sa'iqah Organization and Fatah dissidents.

This group, which has strong ties with Damascus, figures in the present considerations of the legitimate command of the PLO as a group that is associated more closely with Syrian politics than with the Palestinian command.

In his opening address to the council and in his political deliberations in the course of council meetings Yasir 'Arafat took care to condemn the third group, but he kept the doors open to the second group and did not defame it.

Naturally, this division puts the PLO in a position of not being able to take an integrated and an unequivocal position on Jordanian ideas. No political plan can be approved, rejected or modified in the present political climate, with the PLO in the situation it is in. On the one hand, the PLO has been invited by Jordan to hold its national council meeting in that country and, on the other hand, it has been accused of treason by dissidents in Damascus.

Hence arises the dilemma of Palestinians accepting or rejecting Jordanian ideas because these ideas are being offered in a critical Palestinian situation. The organization finds itself in a dilemma of embarrassing its hosts in Amman or reacting to charges of treason that are coming from Damascus.

#### The Right Move

Abu Iyyad, the man who is responsible for the security of the Palestinian Revolution made the right move in the speech he improvised during the sessions of the congress. He was able to offer in that speech Palestinian explanations, from a Fatah viewpoint, of the reasons for the split and the attitude toward Syria. He also affirmed the need for reform within the ranks of the organization.

AL-MAJALLAH asked Abu Iyyad about the future of the PLO's relationship with Damascus after the meetings of the PNC were adjourned. He said, "As far as we are concerned, our relationship with the people of Syria, with Syria's location and with Syria's role is fundamental and organic. However, what happened between us and them is basically a political and not a personal disagreement."

He added, "The high tension that has tainted Palestinian-Syrian relations is not due to the fact that the Syrian president himself disagrees with Yasir 'Arafat. The dispute is political; it is a dispute about the political direction that should be pursued to reach a final settlement to the Palestinian question."

Abu Iyyad added with obvious bitterness, "Syria is opposed to the idea of an independent Palestinian state. It is of course our goal to establish such a state. Therefore, each of us has different ideas and convictions about the other. It is for this reason that the conflict between us and Damascus occurred."

In talking with Abu Iyyad one gets the feeling that he is confident that relations between Fatah and the Democratic Alliance may go through some difficulties but that they will ultimately be restored. However, it would be difficult to restore relations with the National Alliance, even if relations between Fatah and Syria were to be restored.

AL-MAJALLAH asked Abu Iyyad about the Palestinians' real position, as opposed to their propaganda position on King Husayn's initiative. Abu Iyyad said, "The relationship between Jordan and the Palestinians is an intrinsic relationship that no one has a right to break. This relationship, which is historic and inevitable, is ruled by factors larger and more profound than political factors. When the Jordanian monarch comes forward with political ideas, he does so independently and boldly. It is with the same bold spirit that we will consider and discuss those ideas. Discussion here does not mean that we will accept everything or reject everything. We are, however, striving to offer our own ideas according to our convictions and our interests."

He added, "Our position is clear. Resolution 242 does not have the solution we want, but we are insisting on the slogan of land in exchange for peace. We regard an international conference that would be attended by all parties as the suitable framework for finding a solution."

AL-MAJALLAH asked Abu Iyyad what he meant when he said in his speech at the PNC that a shortage of financial resources in the organization and the fact that some Arab countries had not fulfilled their set financial obligations, except for Saudi Arabia which paid its full share, may force Palestinians to carry out "desperate" acts.

Abu Iyyad said, "We are not gangs [of thieves] or highway robbers. We are a liberation movement and a revolution. When we fought, we did not fight to defend ourselves only, but we fought to defend all the occupied and unoccupied Arab land. Arab support for us is a matter of national duty."

"During one third of the past century our people have had to give up their homes four times. Every time they went through this process, they lost their homes, their honor and their property. Every military confrontation or every attempt that is made to drain our resources means exorbitant costs. Every plan that is made means building and construction. I was warning that some of our cadres, especially the young ones, may become very desperate and very angry and that they may react in a manner whose consequences cannot be counted on. These cadres put a lot of pressure on us as leaders, but we try to control them. Therefore, we want our fellow Arabs to understand the nature of this critical situation."

AL-MAJALLAH asked Abu Iyyad, "Are the Arabs being forced to provide support?" Abu Iyyad replied, "My dear man, there is no coercion, and there are no pressures or threats. We are merely asking these countries to live up to those commitments which they made voluntarily at meetings of the highest Arab authority. These countries declared their willingness to support us, and they made official pledges specifying the amount of that support at summit meetings. We respect everybody, and we know our limits quite well. All that we ask is that people live up to their obligations which were spelled out in the Arab Summit Conference."

#### Armed Action

A person who contemplates the name, the Palestine Liberation Organization, will see that it is an organization whose slogan is liberation.

In any revolution in the world liberation depends basically on armed struggle.

Therefore, a question is being raised these days about the future of the Palestinian armed struggle in the wake of the Palestinians' military fragmentation and their political split.

Abu Jihad, the man who is responsible for Palestinian military action answered that question which AL-MAJALLAH asked him. Abu Jihad, member of the Central Committee of Fatah said, "Armed struggle constitutes the practical background for any political action. Without armed struggle nothing can be done."

Abu Jihad added, "They wanted to disperse our people in a number of Arab countries--see the table on the distribution of troops [at the conclusion of the article] to put an end to the role these troops were playing. But we turned this disadvantage into an advantage because we no longer have to be in one Arab country. By concentrating on the occupied land we were able to carry out sophisticated programs to prepare and furnish these troops and to induce them to carry out daily operations."

[Question] But where is all that military action that we have been expecting from you, Abu Jihad?

The man smiled and said, "Mr 'Imad al-Din Adib wrote that I had promised him a year ago, after the Palestinians left Tripoli, that military action would be escalated. Then he asked in his column, 'Where is that military action?' I will give you figures to answer that question. In the first 9 months of this year there were 171 military operations in the occupied land. That includes throwing bombs, exploding buildings, attacking military patrols or mining camps."

Abu Jihad added, "When people ask us to escalate military action, they must know that we face problems and difficulties in getting weapons, explosives and possible means of support to our people in the occupied land. Our people are willing to give up their lives for the cause, but they cannot face Israel's military arsenal with nothing but stones. Therefore, we are always trying to find feasible means by which we can get weapons to them, even though doing that through the Arab confrontation countries is difficult."

AL-MAJALLAH asked, "Will this continue to be an excuse?" Abu Jihad replied reassuringly, "Not at all. We will always come up with new methods. Pulling off one successful operation or merely getting weapons or explosives to our heroes in the occupied land takes months."

Abu Jihad said with regret, "Sometimes, however, there are difficulties. For example, an explosive device is discovered or it malfunctions. But let me emphasize that we will not despair or stop coming up with our own ways for escalating military action in the occupied land."

We asked Abu Jihad, "Don't you believe that numerous leaders and cadres who are active on the Palestinian scene have become fat politically and militarily? Don't you believe that the time has come for reform from within?"

Abu Jihad said, "The dissidents and their allies proclaimed the slogan of reform to use it against the unity of the organization. We do not deny that our course has not been error free, and we affirm that these errors must be dealt with." Abu Jihad stated that after their departure from Beirut Palestinian leaders decided to correct their mistakes and to design their future strategy on sound principles which would be based on revolutionary purity. He added, "But those who caused the split distracted us from this task."

Abu Jihad admitted that mistakes were made in Palestinian actions. In this regard he mentioned unequal opportunities, the lack of speed with which personal mistakes were dealt with, the low standards of discipline and control and the need to concentrate on selecting good new members.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Fatah will begin by carrying out reforms within its ranks. Fatah will do this during the congress it will convene in the next few weeks.

#### Losses and Gains

Now that everything has been stated, what are the profits and losses shown on the balance sheets of all the parties?

It is obvious that Yasir 'Arafat himself won when confidence in his leadership was reaffirmed. It is obvious that the Fatah movement was able to affirm that without it there was no legitimate Palestinian body. It is also obvious that the steadfast moderate trend in the PNC is the most powerful trend in present considerations.

The steadfast moderate trend is the independent national Palestinian trend that is not subordinate to any Arab or international power. It is the trend that can seek a political settlement which is compatible with its interests and not with the interests of other Arabs.

At the same time, this was the first time in 14 years--since the events of September 1970--that the PLO had an opportunity to address the Jordanian public and the people in the occupied land. The meetings of the PNC were broadcast on Jordanian television.

The list of losses, however, begins with Damascus where dissident elements were unable to divest the organization's legitimate leaders of their legitimate status.

The mere fact that there was a quorum at the PNC in Amman undermined the legitimacy of the counter bloc in Damascus and weakened their position among Palestinians, particularly in the occupied land.

And here it behooves us to make a distinction between one loss and another.

The loss of the Democratic Alliance is a tactical loss that may be made up when dialogue between this alliance and the organization is restored, particularly since Abu 'Ammar insisted that the seats held by that alliance were to remain vacant until their return. The loss of the National Alliance, however, is a strategic loss, especially since 86 members of the PNC requested that 6 members of the National Alliance, headed by Ahmad Jibril, be stripped of their membership in the council.

The Democratic Alliance succeeded in inducing the legitimate command of the organization to admit publicly that reform was necessary. Abu Iyyad supported the notion of questioning people in the Palestinian Revolution about the source of their wealth.

The major loss sustained by the legitimate command of the PLO was the absence of the Soviet Union's delegation for the first time from PNC meetings. It seems that in weighing their interests as a state against their support for the Palestinian Revolution, the Soviets chose not to arouse the anger of the Syrian state.

But what are the political consequences of the PNC meeting for Jordan?

First, the Jordanian monarch was able to prove that he can let his country become a base for Palestinian political action at the present time and in the future.

Second, the fact that the Jordanian initiative was presented to Palestinians in this manner switched the power to make decisions from Jordanians to Palestinians.

It seems that what the Jordanian monarch was counting on when he offered the initiative was as follows: it would be splendid if the Palestinians approved the initiative, but if they turned it down, however, that would be their choice and they would have to accept the consequences. But if the Palestinians responded with a yes and no in the sense of giving a polite Palestinian response to a political plan, that response will buy them some time. And although that would not be useful, it would not be harmful either.

AL-MAJALLAH asked Mrs Layla Sharaf about the time limit that Jordan set for a Palestinian answer to Jordan's initiative. Mrs Sharaf said, "Two months from now."

#### Palestinian Responsibility

What does the Palestinian public want?

AL-MAJALLAH put that question to al-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Wahidi, a resident of al-Buq'ah Camp in Jordan. Al-Shaykh al-Wahidi said, "We want all the factions of the Palestinian Resistance without exception to unite so they can liberate Palestine. Therefore, we are asking them to talk to each other day and night so they can reach an agreement. They have to know who is their enemy. The United States of America is the cause of all the misfortune in the area, and Israel is a cunning enemy that wants land and wants to expel people from that land."

It seems that everyone in the area knows and understands what al-Shaykh al-Wahidi said; none of the disputes and conflicts that are going on now, however, has any direct bearing on the crucial issue of liberating the land.

The bloodthirsty manner in which the split was carried out and the errors of that split caused the PLO to lose much of its political and military prestige. This is a fact that Palestinians have to come to terms with. They have to face up to that painful fact with courage. What is equally important is that the leaders of the PLO made mistakes too. They are the ones who have to begin the process of reforming the revolution.

The Palestinian public wants real and radical reform, not mere superficial action taken to respond to the dissidents' camp.

Leaders of the PLO are being called upon to begin by reforming themselves before reforming their cadres. The Fatah Movement is being asked to begin reforming itself before asking any other faction to correct its course. The organization has to begin by making clear political choices whose basis is the armed



struggle. It can thus define the lines that separate its policies from any Arab policies.

To affirm its independence the organization is being called upon to set up a system for collecting funds from wealthy Palestinians and from Palestinian institutions scattered throughout the world. Such a system would enable it to do something about its budget deficit which has amounted to 12 million Jordanian dinars. The organization cannot make independent decisions unless it is financially independent.

In the tumult of this incident Palestinians are missing two points. The first point is that the struggle over the legitimacy of the PNC or the legitimacy of the split is part of the effort to challenge the legitimacy of the entire organization and to divest it of its legitimate status in the international community. Americans and Israelis would no longer take it into account; it would become easy to contain it in the Arab world; and it would be easy to act on its behalf in any future international negotiations.

The second point is that only an independent PLO will be able to bring about an independent Palestinian state. And what a difference there is between a Palestinian state and an independent Palestinian state.

What al-Shaykh al-Wahidi of al-Buq'ah camp said when AL-MAJALLAH asked him what he thought about a political solution to the question of his people is enough. With tears in his eyes al-Shaykh al-Wahidi said, "There is no political solution to liberate Palestinian land, and there won't be. The only road to Palestine is that which will be cleared by guns."

#### The Distribution of PLO Forces

PLO guerillas who were deported from Beirut in 1982 were distributed among eight Arab countries. Some of them did return to Lebanon. A statement about the distribution of these troops follows.

##### Iraq:

400 guerillas affiliated with the Arab Liberation Front, which is subordinate to Baghdad and loyal to 'Arafat.

##### Jordan:

Several thousand guerillas; they are serving in the Jordanian army.

##### North and South Yemen:

A total of 800 of 'Arafat's men.

##### Sudan:

600 'Arafat loyalists.

##### Syria:

12,000 guerillas serving under the Syrian command as regular soldiers in the Palestine Liberation Army; and between 3,000 and 4,000 PLO guerillas who are believed to be in refugee camps.

**Lebanon:**

6,000 guerillas, originally from Syria: 4,000 in East 'al-Biqa' and the rest near Beirut and in refugee camps in Tripoli.

**Europe:**

5,000 young members of the Resistance who are recipients of PLO scholarship grants and are studying in the universities of Europe. Most of these students are in East European countries.

**Algeria:**

500 guerillas who are loyal to 'Arafat.

**Tunisia:**

Yasir 'Arafat and 500 who support his leadership. They have a command post in Tunisia.

8592

CSO: 4404/102



AFGHANISTAN

SOVIETS URGED TO CONSIDER CEASE-FIRE, EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL

LD211216 Hamburg DPA in German 1029 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Bonn, 21 Dec (DPA)--The CDU/CSU has appealed to the Soviet Union for a ceasefire in Afghanistan "for Christmas and a little longer." To mark the 5th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of the country on 27 December, Hans Klein, the foreign policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, said in Bonn today that conditions for a withdrawal of Soviet troops should develop from such a ceasefire. However, according to the Federal Government's information the Soviet Union has recently increased its strength by 20,000 to 125,000 troops.

Klein accused the Soviet Union of being responsible not only for 4 million refugees and 100,000 dead and wounded, but also for "hundreds of Oradours and Lidices," thus comparing the Soviet actions with retaliatory actions by the Waffen-ss in France and what is now the CSSR during World War II. Klein described the resistance in Afghanistan as courageous but also disunited. The West's aid was inadequate and must be stepped up.

Count Hans Huyn, the foreign policy spokesman of the CSU Land Group, took the same opportunity to accuse the Soviet Union of genocide against women, old people, and children. The Soviets were pursuing long-term strategic goals toward the Gulf and with an eye to India and Pakistan. He urged the West and the Third World to support the freedom fighters in Afghanistan and Pakistan refugee aid.

According to CDU deputy Otto Wulff, there are increasing signs that Moscow's policy is aimed at one day incorporating Afghanistan into the Soviet Union. Certain population groups were already being urged to become Soviet citizens.

CSO: 4620/16

AWAMI LEAGUE HOLDS CONDOLENCE MEETING ON GANDHI DEATH

Hasina, Others Speak

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 13 Nov 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina Wazed said on Monday that the killing of former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was not an isolated event but the outcome of a "calculated conspiracy of the imperialist forces defeated through the Bangladesh War of Liberation in 1971".

Terming Indira Gandhi as an ever "vigilant watchdog of democracy, a fighter for peace, and the leader of the non-aligned movement" Sheikh Hasina said Indira Gandhi was "very much a part of the war of liberation of Bangladesh".

She deplored that the offices and educational institutions were not closed even for a day to mourn the death of the Indian Prime Minister. This was nothing unusual for those who could not recognise the great son of the soil Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without whom Bangladesh could have never emerged an independent and sovereign country, Sheikh Hasina said.

The Awami League chief was addressing a condolence meeting organised by her party to mourn the killing of Mrs. Gandhi at Ramna Green.

The meeting that began with a minute's silence as a mark of respect to the slain Indian leader was also addressed by Messrs Abdul Malek Ukil, Syeda Zohra Tajuddin, Zillur Rahman, Abdul Mannan and Dr Kamal Hossain, members of the party presidium, Begun Sajeda Chowdhury, Acting General Secretary, Tofayel Ahmed, Organising Secretary, Amir Hossain Amu, Communist Party of Bangladesh Secretary Mr Mohammad Forhad. Jatiya Ekota Party President Syed Altaf Hossain, Nazrul Islam of Workers Party, Chowdhury Harunur Rashid of NAP (Harun), Acting Secretary of JSD Shahjahan Siraj, Mr Justice K. M. Sobhan, Mr Justice Syed Mohammad Hossain and Mr Shawkat Osman.

Sheikh Hasina said the people of Bangladesh would never forget Indira Gandhi because of the help and assistance given in 1971. She created world opinion not only against the barbaric acts of the occupation forces but also to save the life of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Her assistance in building the war ravaged country could also never be forgotten, she said.

The Awami League chief said many nationalist leaders of the third world had to sacrifice their lives at the hands of imperialists only because they were popular and engaged themselves in the welfare of the exploited. Such killing should not bring about frustrations, she cautioned.

She said that Indira Gandhi was killed at a time when there was a strong movement in Bangladesh to end the politics of killing. It was meant for destabilising the subcontinent, she said and referred to the killings of Suleman Bandarnaike of Sri Lanka and Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh as examples.

She said, those forces which could not accept the liberation of Bangladesh were conspiring to destroy it. The slogan "Joy Bangla" which had inspired people in the war of liberation had been replaced by "zindabad". This amounted to dishonouring the sacrifices of the 30 lakh shaheeds, she said asking "where from have they gotten this audacity". She called upon the people to make all efforts to ensure that none could distort the history.

Sheikh Hasina declared that the nationalist movement, aimed at improving the lot of the exploited would continue and urged the people to build stronger unity for the purpose.

She sympathised with the members of the family of Mrs Gandhi and the people of India.

Mr Abdul Malek Ukil resented that the Government of Bangladesh did not telecast even the documentary on Indira's tour of Bangladesh in 1972.

He said that imperialists were happy over the killing of Indira because she wanted to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. With her death the strongest voice in the third world had been silenced, he said.

Mr Abdul Mannan said that had there not been an Indira, India could not have reached its present level of development.

Dr Kamal Hossain said that the freedom loving people of the world had been deprived of a great leader through the killing of Mrs Gandhi.

He recalled Mrs Indira Gandhi's role during 1971 and said she wanted to build of a peaceful subcontinent by ending the old memories.

Mr Justice Syed Mohammad Hossain said that the non-communal forces of Bangladesh who wanted parliamentary democracy, self-reliant national economy, and believed in the welfare of the masses in the third world favoured close friendship with similar forces in India. "We are not ashamed of this," he said, adding "our relationship with India was based on principles".

Mr Justice K. M Sobhan said that the reactionaries killed Indira Gandhi through a conspiracy that began with the fomenting of troubles in Nagaland, Assam, Tripura and Punjab. The same forces wipe out secularism from Bangladesh by killing. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he added.

## Reaction from Janadal, Others

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The different political parties continued to express their resentment at the attempts by Awami League and BAKSAL to magnify the role of late Indian Prime Minister in our Liberation War by deliberately ignoring the glorious part played by countless number of our people. This effort the political parties maintained only demonstrated the servile mentality of a particular section of beneficiaries.

Mr. Mahbubul Huq Dulon Joint Secretary General of Janadal resented the observation of certain political leaders that the independence of the Bangladesh was the contribution of late Mrs Indira Gandhi or a particular country and said that by saying so these political parties and leaders had undermined the contribution of lakhs of our valiant people who fought the Liberation War.

In a statement to the Press he said that nobody would deny the contribution of Mrs Indira Gandhi to our Liberation War but nobody had the right to undermine the contribution of our people. He termed the attempt to establish Mrs Gandhi as the architect of the liberation of Bangladesh as motivated.

The Janadal leader stated that Mrs. Gandhi showed respect to huminity by giving shelter to our lakhs of people during the Liberation War. But on the other hand she helped raising the Rakhhi Bahini in our country to undermine the role of our Armed Forces. She also hailed the formation of one party autocratic BAKSAL rule by Awami League in 1975 he added.

Mr. Dulon noted that it was nothing but disrespect to our national identity when some leaders say that the death of Mrs. Gandhi was the death of Mrs. Gandhi was the death of their second mother and prayed for her rebirth in Bangladesh.

Chief of Jatiya Janata Party Rear Admiral (Retd) M. H. Khan said in Dhaka on Wednesday that the people should not look towards extraneous forces and issues and must learn to fend for themselves.

Addressing the party workers, he said "some of us are looking elsewhere for the identity'. He went on to say that the issues and incidents outside the country should not cause any worry for us.

He stressed the need for speedy disposal of the Ganges water and the South Talpatty issues.

Meanwhile, the leaders of Democratic Juba Front criticised the leaders of the Awami League and the BAKSAL for ignoring the contributions of the people of Bangladesh and magnifying the role of Mrs Gandhi during the War of Liberation in 1971. They stated at a workers meeting at the office of the front that the role of India after the independence of Bangladesh and the plunder of resources from Bangladesh were still vivid in the minds of the people. They were bitterly critical of the aggressive policies of the Indo-Soviet

axis toward Bangladesh and recalled that their local servitors were responsible for imposing a dictatorial one-party fascist rule'.

They noted that the reaction of Awami League and BAKSAL to Mrs. Gandhi's killing had put to shame the workers and leaders of ruling Indian Congress Party. The meeting was presided over by Mr. A. S. M. Enamul Huq chief of the front.

#### Hasina 'Offensive' Described

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 16 Nov 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Sheikh Hasina Wazed, the chief of Awami League and her cohorts have suddenly kicked off a propaganda offensive against the democratic ethos of the people of Bangladesh and more dangerously is making frantic efforts to again tie Bangladesh to the apron strings of reactionary foreign powers, taking advantage of the people's shock and dismay over the brutal assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Shakh Hasina's sense of personal bereavement at this hour is understandable, but when she tries to impose her egotist, cultist and revanchist politics on the people of Bangladesh taking the country once again on to the road of dependence, one cannot help feeling a sense of apathy and revulsion.

These days we refrain from taking a critical look at Sheikh Hasina's and Awami League's politics hoping that they are repentant for their misdeeds in 1972-75 period and are willing to make a fresh start burying their inglorious past for good. With Awami League joining hands with other democratic forces of the country in the struggle for civilian polity, it was expected that the party will shun the path of proto-fascism and would learn to tolerate and respect other people's views. But leopard never changes its colour. The Awami League lies low when the current is adverse and show their claws whenever the people lower their vigilance against them. Why have they chosen the occasion of Mrs Gandhi's death to unmask themselves and come out in the open to reverse the course of history and challenge the authenticity of the people's verdict passed long ago.

Mrs Indira Gandhi's death has been universally mourned in Bangladesh. The press and the people from all walks of life here have paid rich tributes to her and stressed the strong points and achievements of her political career. Both her admirers and detractors in Bangladesh were unanimous in saying that she was a distinguished and outstanding statesman of a major country of the world who has left a deep imprint on history. Voltaire once said, "We owe respect to the living, but to the dead we owe nothing but the truth." But for the sake of nicety and decency, the people of Bangladesh did not discuss the negative aspects of Mrs Gandhi's politics viz, expansionist and totalitarian trends, for which we suffered immensely. But when a political leader of some stature in Bangladesh tries to pass fiction as facts and distort truth and history for ulterior motive, one cannot but feel disgusted and angry. By what stretch of imagination, the Awami League leader can dub Mrs Gandhi as liberator of Bangladesh and virtually claim that the country's independence

was a gift from India? Even the responsible opinion leaders in Indira including Mrs Indira Gandhi are on record having stated that the victory in the liberation war of Bangladesh was made possible because of the determination of its people and it was the culmination of two decades of struggle against the national oppression of the Bengalees by Pakistani military bureaucratic establishment.

We all along maintained that there are two aspects to India's role in Bangladesh struggle. One is that there was convergence of interests between India and us on the question of dismemberment of Pakistan and birth of Bangladesh. And there is conflict of interest between our desire to remain independent and sovereign, free from any outside interference and Indian design to establish its expansionist hegemony over Bangladesh and reduce the country to a status of sub-independent nation and a protectorate. On December 16, 1971, the first aspect of Bangladesh struggle was resolved i.e. both India and our people emerged victorious and since then the second aspect i.e. struggle between two conflicting interests ensued. And in this second phase of struggle between two conflicting interests ensued. And in this second phase of struggle the Awami League pitted itself against the people of Bangladesh and formed a joint front with India and certain other foreign forces to establish a one-party fascist and surrogate dictatorship here. This struggle has sometimes been open and sometimes hidden, but it is yet to be fully over though it has lost much of its edge since Awami League's ouster from power. It has also to be noted that India's primary objective and major and urgent strategic goal has been achieved in 1971 with the emergency of Bangladesh and to attain the secondary objective it can afford to wait for long.

Sheikh Hasina has remarked, "Even one day of mourning for Indira Gandhi was not observed in Bangladesh. Nothing can be more ingratitude than this." We have noted in the foregoing paragraph how all sections of people irrespective of their political belief recorded their appreciation of Mrs Gandhi and unequivocally condemned the act of murder. The government and the cabinet paid extraordinary respect to her, Bangladesh flags blew at half mast both at home and abroad for three days, Bangladesh was represented at the highest level in Mrs Indira Gandhi's funeral ceremony. Do these acts of friendship amount to nothing in the eyes of Sheikh Hasina? Actually what she is trying to do is to project Indira Gandhi not as an Indian leader but a leader of the whole subcontinent. That is the last thing the people of Bangladesh can do. Sheikh Hasina and Awami League might have lost all sense of self-respect but ours is a nation of 90 million proud people. Mrs Indira Gandhi has been shown all the respect she deserves as a distinguished foreign leader, but nobody here can stoop so low as to call her "our leader". Sheikh Hasina's unseemly political conduct and venomous utterances on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi whom she called her "second mother" is actually a clever manoeuvre to revert the country to nightmarish days of 1972-75 and permanently divide it between pre-1975 polity and post-1975 polity so that this nation cannot look forward into the 21st century. In fact Sheikh Hasina Wazed who was catapulted to the office of Awami League President from her political exile in New Delhi in 1981 is yet to reconcile with the changed political matrix of Bangladesh. She now openly clamours for politics of vendetta and revanchism. She is unwilling to recognize the fact of history that politics of murder in Bangladesh did not commence all of a sudden in August, 1975 but it had originated



with the emergence of Bangladesh when the then ruling Awami League with the help of para-military forces and political bandits launched a sanguinary suppression campaign of all opposition elements. Is it not a mockery of democratic struggle when Sheikh Hasina Wazed from 15-party platform proclaims that she is determined to take the country back to pre-'75 days? How is it that Awami League turn a united front forum to a forum for propagating parochial party politics? Do they really believe in 5-point movement, the soul of which is the restoration of democratic order? Does Awami League sincerely stand for united democratic movement by 22-parties? Why have they repeatedly raised divisive political slogans through all other components of two principal political alliances have limited themselves to the common minimum programme? Will Awami League virtually stab the movement in the back, wreck the unity forged in course of two years of mass struggle and go back on to the road of chauvinism and fanaticism.

Sheikh Hasina, it seems has not budged an inch from disgraceful Awami League political line pursued in the days immediately following independence. Emboldened by the people's support for 5-point movement, she is making one indiscreet comment after another creating more and more tension in the 15-party and 7-party alliances. Disrespectful of other people's political line, she and her party are consistently raising controversial issues dealing a heavy blow to the prospect of vigorous development of democratic movement.

It seems the Awami League of Sheikh Hasina is determined to wreck the unity of democratic forces. Otherwise how can an Awami League luminary say that propaganda against India and Soviet Union tantamounts to propaganda against freedom struggle of Bangladesh? These are the statements directed against the forces which are currently fighting a battle for democracy along with Awami League. Does not Sheikh Hasina know that present unity and movement are based on internal political considerations and if external questions are discussed, the unity is bound to flounder and the whole movement will face disruption.

To conclude, if Awami League refused to learn any lesson from history and goes on committing disruption from within like a Trojan Horse, the process of permanent decline of the party will only be accelerated.

CSO: 4600/1162

PAPER REPORTS OUTCOME OF 13 NOVEMBER ULEMA CONFERENCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] A conference of the Ulema (religious leaders) held at Institution of Engineers on Wednesday called upon the Government to declare the country as the "Islamic Republic of Bangladesh."

In a resolution, the conference observed that poll was only the correct means to restore democracy in the country and demanded holding of presidential election first on the basis of the suspended constitution to be followed by parliamentary elections within 30 days.

Organised by Bangladesh Jatiya Ulema Front and presided over by its President Alhaj Maulana Muhammad Habibullah, the conference was also addressed, among others, by Mr A S M Sulaiman, President, Krishak Sramik Party, Pir Abul Bashar, Mr Sharafat Hossain Chowdhury of Republican Party, Kazi Abul Bashar, President, Gono Muslim League and Front leaders Maulana Qari Ruhul Amin, Advocate Delwar Hossain Khan. Syed the move by certain quarters to rename the children's park at Suhrawardy Uddyan as Indira Uddayan' and said "a serious consequence will follow if the resolution is implemented."

In another resolution the conference called for stern action against miscreants since "incidents of theft, dacoity, robbery, murder, repression of women have gone up in an unprecedented shape" and also demanded banning of all anti-Islamic activities.

The conference stressed the need for spreading religious education and demand establishment of a 'Qirat' academy in the capital.

Addressing the conference, Secretary General of the Front Advocate Delwar Hossain Khan rejected the 5-point demand of the 22-party opposition alliances.

Mr Khan lauded the measures taken by the present government towards Islam.

Mr A S M Sulaiman said that religious leaders played an active role towards independence since 1975 and if united again they could contribute their mite now also.

A procession was brought out after the day-long conference. The processionists later submitted a memorandum to the government.



PAPER GIVES DETAILS OF FRG AID AGREEMENT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Bangladesh will receive a grant of approximately Taka 140 crore equivalent to 155.3 million Deutsche Mark from the Federal Republic of Germany for the fiscal 1984-85 under an agreement signed between the two countries in Dhaka on Wednesday, reports BSS.

Of the total grant, 40 million DM will be available as commodity aid, 64.4 million DM as project aid and 36.8 million DM as technical assistance. In addition the FRG will also give 20,000 tons of wheat worth 15 million DM as food aid to Bangladesh during the period to be utilised under Food for Works Programme.

The agreement was signed with the conclusion of the bilateral aid negotiations between the visiting nine-member West German economic delegation led Dr. W. Ehmann of the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ) and the Bangladesh officials.

The Additional Secretary of the External Resources Division Mr. Anisuzzaman Khan, and Dr. W. Ehmann initialled the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

The project aid under the grant will be utilised for telecommunication and railway sectors. Substantial funds have also been earmarked for population programme and agricultural projects.

After the signing ceremony, Dr. Ehmann said that during the negotiations the two sides agreed to concentrate future development cooperation on agriculture with special emphasis on the seed production sector and on population control, as well as energy telecommunications and railways.

He said that it had been further agreed to launch a bilateral programme for the promotion of income generating activity among the poor specially in rural areas. The projects will be prepared in the near future he said.

Dr. Ehmann said in course of negotiations which were held in free and frank atmosphere the two sides exchanged views on current and future financial and technical cooperation.

He said Bangladesh was one of the main cooperation partners of the Federal Republic of Germany and the country has so far received a total 2.5 billion DM development assistance from FRG.

Reciprocating Mr. Anisuzzaman Khan said that the grant that will be available under the agreement would be very "fruitful and beneficial" in the development process undertaken by the Bangladesh Government.

An agreement was also signed Wednesday with the West German financial institution KFW, through which the aid will be channelised.

The FRG Ambassador to Bangladesh Varon Von Marschall, was also present on the occasion.

The economic delegation during its stay in Dhaka will also visit some of the German aided projects.

CSO: 4600/1162

DHAKA SEEKS TO DISPEL MISGIVINGS ABOUT BANK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The CMLA Secretariat on Wednesday clarified the situation to dispel some misgivings created following the recent amendment in the Bangladesh Shilpa Bank (BSB) and Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha (BSRS) Order, reports BSS.

The clarification says, "It has come to the notice of the CMLA Secretariat that the recent amendment in the BSB and BSRS Order has created some misgivings in the minds of the sponsors of projects financed by BSB and BSRS. The CMLA Secretariat feels it necessary to clarify the situation so that the misgivings are removed.

It is to be noted that at the moment there are huge liabilities overdues to BSB and BSRS. What is more unfortunate is that even those projects which are known to be running profitably are not coming forward to clear the BSB or BSRS overdues.

This non-recovery is not only slowing down the pace of industrialization in the country but also creating difficulties for BSB and BSRS to raise further fund.

It is not the intention of the BSB and BSRS to take over any industrial unit and keeping this in mind BSB and BSRS have already approached the defaulting units to settle the accounts as far as practicable. Hopefully they will take advantage of the situation including the arrangements allowed by BSB and BSRS to reschedule the overdues by making a reasonable amount as down payment so that no action become necessary.

In case of genuine difficulties the sponsors are also advised to approach the BSB and BSRS for a mutually acceptable settlement on the basis of bank-client relationship".

CSO: 4600/1162

FOOD MINISTER TALKS TO PRESS ON FAMINE RUMORS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] There is no shortage of food in the country and the Government has already overcome the famine condition caused by the devastating flood.

This was stated by Air Vice-Marshal A. G. Mahmood, Minister for Food at a Press conference at Bangladesh Secretariat on Wednesday. Detailing the present food situation of the country, the Food Minister said that the food deficit in the country now stands at 22 lakh tons as against the estimated deficit of 10 lakh tons in the food budget. The deficit has been widened by the crop damage caused by flood. He said that in order to make up the loss due to colossal crop failure caused by flood Bangladesh has made arrangement to import 27.40 lakh tons of food from abroad. He, however, said that the original import target of food was 16 lakh tons. The normal food gap in the country, according to him, is 13 lakh tons.

Expressing his satisfaction over the production of Aman crop in the country, Mr. A. G. Mahmood said that according to a preliminary report 78 lakh tons of Aman harvest is expected this year. The production of Aman, he said is satisfactory. The production of Aman last year was also 78 lakh tons. There was a total production of 1.55 crore tons of food last year. The production target this year is 1.67 crore tons, but the production will not be more than 1.57 crore tons, the Minister said. He said that food production is increasing every year.

The Minister said that out of the total arrangement of food import 10 lakh tons have arrived in the country till October.

He said that besides traditional aid givers two more countries have joined the aid giving team. The new countries are Saudi Arabia and China. Saudi Arabia has given a food aid of 50 thousand tons. From China Bangladesh has made arrangement to import 60 thousand tons of rice. This is in addition to five thousand tons of rice given as food aid by China. Of the 60 thousand tons, 10 thousand are coming under barter agreement and the rest 50 thousand would be commercially purchased. The highest quantity of about 10 lakh tons of food will come from United States. Of 10 lakh tons 5.70 lakh tons will be received under PL-480 and 4.10 lakh tons would be commercially purchased. He said that about Taka 600 crore would be spent for food import.

This included cash purchase, deferred payment, loans and long term loan agreement.

Commenting on a report published by London Times, that 'Bangladesh is facing famine due to flood', the Food Minister said that it was an over statement. In this context he said "we do not have any fear of food crisis".

Replying to question Mr A G. Mahmood said that 10 lakh tons of food have been sanctioned for Food for Work Programmes and to support those who cannot buy food.

Food Minister Mr. A. G. Mahmood announced in the Press conference that Aman procurement programme will start formally from today (Thursday) throughout the country. About 900 purchasing centres have been opened in the country to procure Aman paddy and rice.

The Government has fixed the procurement price of paddy and rice at Taka 165 and Taka 248 per maund which included carrying bonus. The target of procurement he said this year is estimated around three lakh tons. The procurement price said was fixed to give price support to the farmers. He said that the Government would try to give the farmers their due.

During the procurement drive paddy and rice would be purchased from the farmers in different mill gate besides the purchasing centre. Procurement of paddy and rice is a voluntary one and the Government would not force any farmer to sell their produce to the Government. He said that to procure paddy and rice, from remote places arrangement has been made for mobile purchasing centres. Besides, there would be three floating mobile purchasing centres in the southern char areas of Noakhali. This arrangement has been made by the Government to facilitate the farmers of the remote areas for better marketing of their produce. He said that upazila administration has been instructed to help this procurement programme locally.

CSO: 4600/1162

## MEMBERS OF RAJIV'S INNER CIRCLE CAUSE RESENTMENT

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 8 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Seema Mustafa]

[Text]

New Delhi, Nov. 7: There is considerable resentment in the Congress(I) against Mr Arun Nehru and Mr Arun Singh who form an important part of the new Prime Minister's circle and are assuming increasing powers ever since Mr Rajiv Gandhi assumed office.

Almost all sections of the party, except the younger members, are worried about the role Mr Nehru and Mr Singh will play in determining the future of the Congress(I) and the nation. Neither of them are credited with any political knowledge and all party members spoken to by this correspondent expressed their concern about this.

At the same time, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has earned the admiration of these sections of the Congress(I) who agreed that he had conducted himself in an "excellent fashion" since his mother's death. His speeches on communal harmony were mentioned by each senior party member as an example of his having "matured overnight."

The admiration is tinged with apprehension about the status of this circle and the powers it will be allowed to enjoy. A few Congress(I) members said it was

too early to say what the exact position of Mr Nehru and Mr Singh would be in the new government and party. They felt "a clear picture will emerge only after the general elections." Others were of the view that both these Doon School friends of the Prime Minister had already begun supervising the country's affairs and, as one leader put it, "It is not just them but the question of our country's future," that is worrying us.

An office bearer of the party also admitted today that the two friends were a grave cause for concern. According to him, they were one of the main reasons why the selection of Mr Gandhi as Congress(I) president was being delayed. A section of the party is scouting around for names acceptable to all sections of the party for this post.

Some senior Congress(I) men said they had contacted Mr Gandhi and offered their help and advise any time he needs it. They are still waiting to hear from him.

It is clear that the older party members are being kept at a considerable distance from the new Prime Minister by those around him.

## ANALYST TELLS PROBLEMS FACED BY RAJIV IN ELECTION

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 8--After week-long tension, there was a perceptible improvement today in the over-all communal situation in the country with the Centre heaving a sigh of relief that Guru Nanak's birthday had passed off peacefully without any incidents in almost all the Northern States.

The heavy patrolling by the Army, especially in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi, had a salutary effect, while the appeals of Hindu and Sikh leaders for amity and restraint had also some effect in restoring mutual confidence.

The massive relief work initiated by the Centre particularly in Delhi is intended to encourage the Sikh victims of the riots to get back to their homes and resume their vocations with the financial assistance offered to them. The whole effort is designed to dissuade them from migrating to Punjab which could lead to a counter exodus of Hindus in the event of renewed tension there.

The Government is proceeding on the assumption that the worst is already over and the situation will now improve rapidly in the wake of the strong steps taken to prevent a fresh flare-up in sensitive areas like Delhi. But so long as the Punjab crisis remains unresolved, there is every danger of further violence followed by more acts of terrorism.

#### Emotional Appeal

After the State mourning is over, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers want to take an early decision on the date for parliamentary elections and announce it, if possible, before Indira Gandhi's birth anniversary on November 19, when they hope to launch the campaign with an emotional appeal to the people to prove worthy of her heritage. The intention is to transform this into an all-Indira election while the great surge of sympathy is still there.

But the ideologues in the Congress (I) are not too sure to what extent the shock wave generated by Indira Gandhi's assassination could be transformed into a formidable vote bank seven or eight weeks hence, in the absence of a reassuring display of dynamic leadership by her son in at least assuring the public that he means well and is determined to make an earnest effort to clean up the country's corrupt political system, which his mother failed to do in her time.

#### PM's Handicap

One of the great handicaps of Mr Rajiv Gandhi will be facing is that there are no other leaders of any stature in the Government who can be depended upon to share the burden of campaigning for the party in the elections. He will have to shoulder the entire responsibility, since it is too late now to entrust even a part of this burden to other prominent personalities in the party who have been kept out in his mother's time.

Though there is little likelihood of the Opposition parties getting together to form a united front, the Congress (I) thinks that they would be able to work out seat adjustments in many places to avoid multi-cornered contests. So Mr Rajiv Gandhi will have to campaign hard to be able to cash in on the Indira spell that will continue to be cast in one form or the other even after her death just as it did in her lifetime.

#### Prestige Enhanced

The simmering communal tensions in the north sustained by the continued crisis in Punjab is going to be a big problem for Mr Gandhi in getting his message of secularism to the people. But the firmness with which he intervened to pull up a supine administration and prod it into action to control the communal upheaval has certainly enhanced his prestige. He is the only hope left for with the Congress (I) after Indira Gandhi's assassination, since there is nobody else in the party with any authority or stature to make a matching impact on the minds of the people.

In this situation, the restoration of communal peace is most important for the survival of the Congress (I) while the country is burdened with the Punjab problem. It is highly unlikely that any worthwhile dialogue is going to take place to resolve this tangle before the Parliamentary elections.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi has directed the Congress (I) Chief Ministers and PCC (I) Presidents to associate themselves actively with the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of the communal riots in the northern States. He has also called for full reports about the alleged involvement of some Congress (I) toughs in communal vandalism and their reported interference with the police investigations so that he could take action if there was prima facie evidence.



## Real Initiator

He has been telling the officials concerned that what the victims of these riots need is not just financial assistance for their rehabilitation, but protection for their safe return to their homes and resumption of their normal lives. The fact that he is the real initiator of whatever is being done by the Government, even in the midst of the mourning period when he is busy with the follow up religious ceremonies after the cremation, has made a deep impression on the people here.

There is still no break-through as such in the intense investigations underway to unearth the deep conspiracy behind the assassination. The odd observations made by the surviving assassin, Satwant Singh, who is not fit enough yet to be subjected to sustained interrogation, have not provided any worthwhile clues for probing deeper into this plot, although many suspects continue to be questioned in pursuit of different theories about the possible sources of instigation of this terrible crime.

CSO: 4600/1171

## LEFT'S INITIAL REACTION TO RAJIV TERMED 'SOFT'

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 9 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Rita Manchanda]

[Text]

New Delhi, Nov. 8: The initial reaction of the CPI(M) and the CPI towards Mr Rajiv Gandhi is one of "softness." This is the result of the first assessment of the political situation by the top leadership of the two parties following the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The two parties significantly disassociated themselves from the non-Left Opposition's criticism of the appointment of Mr Gandhi as Prime Minister.

While no major change in the socio-economic or foreign policies of the new government is expected, CPI sources have noted with interest Mr Gandhi's willingness to have a dialogue with the Opposition on curbing communal and divisive forces and on relief and rehabilitation of the riot-affected Sikhs. A major criticism levelled at Mrs Gandhi was her authoritarian style of government and her refusal to

govern on the basis of a consensus.

The revised electoral strategy in the new circumstances will be formalised when the CPI(M) Politburo meets on Saturday and Sunday and the CPI central committee on Tuesday and Wednesday.

The two parties had earlier committed themselves to strengthening left and democratic forces and defeating Mrs Gandhi and the Congress(I). Their hostility to the Congress(I) is no longer certain.

CPI sources felt that the party would now be more prepared to extend support to the Congress(I) on an issue-to-issue basis as well as on a candidate-to-candidate basis. Much would, however, depend on Mr Gandhi's selection of candidates. It was now no longer a foregone conclusion that in a constituency where the DMKP and the Congress(I) are fielding candidates and the CPI has a pocket of

influence, the party will support the DMKP.

Even in 1969, when the Congress-CPI alliance was at its peak, party sources emphasised that support was not unconditional but on an issue-to-issue basis. A return to a 1969-type relationship is, however, unlikely. Mr Gandhi is not expected to adopt policies any different from his mother.

CPI(M) sources, however, felt that the major impact would be felt in terms of a tactical shift in electoral strategy. The mood of the people did not permit any vitriolic criticism of Mr Gandhi's policies. The party would also be particularly vigilant about guarding against any association with divisive forces.

At the meeting of the CPI(M) central committee from October 27 to 30, it was already decided that the party would have no truck with the BJP, the Akalis or the Muslim League.

CSO: 4600/1170

## CONGRESS-I IN NORTHEAST SOLIDLY BEHIND RAJIV

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 84 p 6

[Text]

**Guwahati, Nov 9**— The Congress-I in the north eastern region of the country stood solidly behind Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and has already extended its unstinted support to him.

The Chief Ministers of the States in the region, namely that of Assam, Arunachal, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland and 26 MPs from these States met on 2 November at the Meghalaya House in New Delhi and resolved to extend their wholehearted support to Mr Rajiv Gandhi to enable him to fulfil the tasks left unfinished by Mrs Gandhi.

Assam Chief Minister and president of the North Eastern Congress Coordination Committee Hiteswar Saikia said the region expressed support and solidarity to the new Prime Minister. Congress Chief Ministers of the NE region would meet at New Delhi again to discuss certain important political issues would also meet Mr Rajiv Gandhi, it is learnt here.

Earlier Mr Saikia appealed to the people to extend their whole-hearted support to Mr Rajiv Gandhi at this critical juncture. He expressed his firm belief that the dynamic leadership of Mr Gandhi would open a new horizon of progress in Assam as well as in whole of the NE region.

The AICP also welcomed Mr Rajiv Gandhi's selection as the Prime Minister and hoped that he would fight boldly against the forces of destabilisation and imperialism.

The North Eastern region, troubled and turbulent with agitations and insurgencies for the last few years, would look forward to his leadership in the keen interest, the party said.

All headquarters towns wore an unusually calm and quite look after the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. Many of those observed a 24-hour bandh condemning the dastardly killing. Guwahati, the political nerve centre of the north-east as also the headquarters of the

Assam agitationists, observed a spontaneous bandh on 1 and 3 November which was quite rare here in recent past.

Nongree, the age old colourful festival of the Khasis of Meghalaya, was observed on 6 November with much austerity, with the festival flag in the traditional religious house, Ingsad, lowered in respectful remembrance of Mrs Gandhi.

The tribal people of the State recalled with a heavy heart how Mrs Gandhi had participated in this great festival on 23 November 1976 during her visit to the State.

The Sikhs of the region observed their Nanak Jayanti yesterday in a much subdued manner. Various Sikh organisations and gurdwara organisations condemned the dastardly assassination and joined others in rare unanimity to mourn the death of their beloved leader. The Assam Jatiyotabadi Dal, a regional party of Assam and the regional parties of Meghalaya, namely the APHLC and HSPDP condemned the brutal assassination. The AASU and the AAGSP, which were spearheading the Assam agitation for the last five years, also expressed deep sorrow over the assassination.

Nine political parties of the State namely the Congress-I, CPI, CPM, Congress-S, DMKP, CPI, PDF, SUCI and the State Government met here on Wednesday and made a joint appeal for continued vigil against the forces of violation and destruction. The leaders of the parties through a resolution condemned the assassination. They paid their homages at the urn containing her ashes at Dispur.

Some hooligans and anti-social elements, however, tried to create trouble in some parts of the region and in Manipur, Guwahati and Silchar but they were immediately isolated and overpowered.

## ANALYST DISCUSSES INTELLIGENCE SHORTCOMINGS

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] The noted U.S. historian, Henry Steele Comager, wrote a poignant thesis on the decay of American society, the coursening of its spirit and vulgarisation of its values, at the time of the Kennedy assassination. His impassioned plea for sanity reflected the torment of many of his fellow Americans over the all-pervasive cult of senseless violence conditioning the U.S. psyche and making even perfectly normal people behave irrationally and unpredictably in moments of stress and strain, bitterness and indignation.

Every word of what he said on that sad occasion is applicable to India today in analysing the aberrant behaviour of its people in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination. The Indian experience has been that in times of crisis the people of this great country are capable of rising to great heights, but they are also liable to yield to the worst passions in such moments. The split personality of the people exposes them to contradictory emotions which influence their responses in different ways depending on the nature of the pathos or provocation.

A humane, highly religious and God-fearing people who do not kill even a fly or hurt an ant in a more normal frame of mind, they tend to swing to the other extreme and indulge in shocking savagery when seized by blind fury which impels them to kill and pillage, and even impale or immolate men, women and children. The dividing line between compassion and revenge gets thinner and thinner in moments of political incitement, communal instigation or psychological disorientation. This is the only way one can rationalise the irrational behaviour of Indian mobs, egged on by agent-provocateurs, when they go on the rampage committing the most atrocious crimes against their fellow countrymen in the name of religion or region.

It is impossible to find any valid reason for such atrocious behaviour by perfectly normal persons in times of anger or anguish, frenzy or shame. The tragedy of India over the centuries has been the inability of its diverse communities and castes to integrate themselves into a single national entity that can withstand the strains of periodic trials and

tribulations. The absence of a strong and assertive public opinion emboldens anti-social elements to exploit such situations by inflaming passions and indulging with impunity in acts of mob violence.

As a society in constant flux riven by deep dissensions, India has to contend all the time with the centrifugal and centripetal impact of its internal contradictions, with the result that any little incident can spark a social upheaval with much wider ramifications. The death of a Prime Minister at the hands of assassins was enough to plunge the country into a major convulsion leaving a trail of bitter discord that is going to take a long time to live down. The nation went through the agonising ordeals of this ugly phenomenon last week when over 2,000 persons were done to death, thousands of houses and business premises looted and burnt down in eight northern States.

But what was shocking, and much more difficult to explain, was the callous behaviour of political parties, the total collapse of the administrative machinery and the inability of public opinion to assert itself in a place like Delhi to save the victims of this savagery from being done to death and even burnt alive. The senior Ministers and officials in key positions who should have been in their offices to deal with this tragic situation were nowhere to be seen in the Central Secretariat, since they had rushed to the hospital where Indira Gandhi was taken or at the Teen Murti House where the body was lying in State.

The police stood by watching passively as hoodlums went on the rampage killing people, looting homes, burning houses and making bonfires of buses, cars, scooters and other vehicles. There was no government worth the name in Delhi during those two or three black days before the Army was brought eventually in to restore some semblance of order with instructions to shoot killers, looters and arsonists at sight.

It goes to the credit of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, that on the second day of this carnage he alone had the courage to go to the trouble spots at midnight before his mother's cremation. No other Union Government functionary bothered to visit the disturbed areas which were being terrorised and plundered by anti-social elements.

It was not a spontaneous outburst of anger and indignation against the Sikhs over the murder of Indira Gandhi, whatever the provocation provided by the absence of any remorse on the part of some of them. It is true that a few fanatics here and there went to the extent of openly rejoicing over this tragic event by distributing sweets. But the great majority of Sikhs were as shocked and ashamed as the Hindus over what happened, although they were less vocal in their manifestations of disapproval and indignation. It did not justify the murder of cold-blooded hundreds of innocents to avenge the terrible crime perpetrated by those who masterminded this conspiracy to kill her.

The malaise is much deeper in the sense that with the increasing inflow of anti-social elements into political parties, the country's democratic process has been fouled up with the infusion of communal politics, use of strong arm methods during electoral campaigns and increasing dependence on anti-social elements for stage-managing rallies or breaking up rival demonstrations. The result is that almost every party today has been infiltrated by toughs in every big city or town, who use their political influence to browbeat officials, intimidate political opponents and indulge in mafiatype activities to feather their nests.

This degradation of political life has been followed by a corresponding fall in the quality of administration in the wake of commitment politics and the permissiveness bred by the political leadership has played havoc with the public services by reducing civil servants into supplicants and making them do many wrong things to subserve the interests of those in power who are in a position to dispense patronage.

#### New pockets of privilege

As a result the hierarchical system of the administration has broken down with almost everybody evading responsibility and awaiting instructions from the top before initiating any action. The Delhi administration remained paralysed during those two or three dark days because the Home Ministry was not functioning at all to provide the higher direction. The vast web of intelligence machinery was also in a state of utter collapse after the astounding failure of the security set up to protect the Prime Minister from assassination by two of its own men. The Army had only two battalions in the capital and it had to bring in extra units from other centres to provide manpower first for the State funeral before assisting the civil administration in restoring order in Delhi.

The indiscriminate expansion of intelligence and security agencies has also led to a rapid decline in the standards of their efficiency, besides creating new pockets of privilege within the government. The misuse of these organisations for political purposes to serve the interests of the party in power has led to their politicisation with disastrous consequences. The so-called Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) dealing with external intelligence, which relied heavily on the CIA for its training in the initial stages, became a law unto itself functioning as an autonomous body, entitled to post its men in every Indian diplomatic mission to keep a watch on Indians abroad in addition to gathering some marginal intelligence.

#### Virtual police State

The Intelligence Bureau itself, employing over 12,000 men within India, has tried to transform the country into a virtual police State, spying on State governments, keeping a close eye on the activities of all political parties, supplying dossiers to the ruling party on its own members, tapping telephones and watching the activities of Ministers, senior officials, MPs, journalists and any other category of persons who can be deemed even remotely to be potential opponents of those in power at the Centre. The

intelligence reports, based on hearsay or at best only second hand information in most cases were enough to destroy the careers of the individuals concerned and prejudice the attitudes of the Government towards them, since no opportunity was given to rebut the accusations of disloyalty or dishonesty levelled against them.

One of the ironies of present-day government is that despite the enormous sums of money spent by different countries on intelligence, none of them is really well informed about what goes on in their respective domestic domains not to speak of the happenings abroad. The U.S. has been badly let down by its own CIA in several critical situations, and it would not be surprising that the Soviet Union does not fare any better with its KGB in watching the activities of other countries and influencing their actions. In an open society like India, the Government learnt to its bitter cost during the Emergency that it was much easier to run a ramshackle democracy than transform the country into a police State.

The new Prime Minister would be well advised to make his own assessments of individuals and events without being guided unduly by his intelligence organisations. An increasing reliance on them will inevitably make him an unsuspecting victim of the conditioned reflexes generated by the data fed by them. It is good to hear computers to analyse situations and assess trends of opinion but what goes into these machines is much more important than what comes out of them. If garbage is fed into them based on false or unreliable information, only garbage would emerge from them.

#### Permissive atmosphere

The President or Prime Minister cannot be guarded by a multiplicity of agencies or forces, nor can a much bigger body of men equipped with even the deadliest weapons do a better job than what an alert and better trained compact team can do in the situation and one of the fatal mistakes the government made was in allowing Parkinson's law to operate freely in expanding the security establishment in Delhi without any discretion. It was not surprising that in the permissive atmosphere that prevailed, the security personnel accompanying the late Prime Minister on her foreign tours were accused of smuggling and of drunken behaviour at several places.

The country's top leaders need the fullest possible protection from physical attacks and assassination attempts, but in the process they must not become prisoners of an over-protective and self-defeating security system that isolates them from the people. A single agency directly under the Cabinet Secretariat can shoulder this responsibility better than the present multiple set up with too many agencies and individuals involved in it.

The morale of the bureaucracy cannot be restored until both senior and junior civil servants in positions of responsibility are made to feel that there are other ways of assessing their competence and performance than haphazard reports on their loyalty and honesty provided by intelligence

organisations. The collapse of the Delhi Administration was a classic example of what can happen in a moment of crisis when nobody is prepared to take any decision like imposing curfew, ordering police firing or calling in the Army without the prior approval of the Home Ministry or the Prime Minister's house.

#### Direct access

In the old days, the chiefs of intelligence had direct access to the head of government, but now they have to operate through the personnel staff and extra-constitutional authorities in the establishment, by playing to their whims and fancies since access to the Prime Minister is not always available to them. It used to be said in the old days that a Home Minister had to be feared or respected, that the degree of his importance lay in the measure of control he exercised over the intelligence machinery operating under him.

A Home Minister invariably came to grief when the Director of Intelligence Bureau was able to bypass and carry tales against him to the Prime Minister either directly or through those in a position to get the damaging messages across to the head of the government. The institutional damage done over the years has to be set right to ensure the smooth functioning of the administration. And as an earnest and well-meaning young man with no hangovers from the past to live down, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has an opportunity to clear up the cobwebs, place greater emphasis on honesty and integrity, stop playing favourites and keep sycophants at a distance. In the final analysis his credentials for a mandate from the people will depend largely on his capacity to assure the nation of his ability to give the country a clean government that not merely works but is also capable of remaining clean without succumbing to the lure of the spoils of office.

CSO: 4600/1174



## INDIA NOT TO PRESS FOR ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK LOAN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 11 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, November 10 (UNI)--India has decided not to press its application for a \$ two billion loan from the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

This follows the bank's move to restrict the loan, first ever sought by India, to \$200 million for "arbitrary reasons," finance ministry sources said here today.

India will not process its application further "till such time as the bank is in a position to take an objective view of the size of the lending programme" without allowing itself to be influenced by "extraneous pressures," the sources said.

The sources described as "more or less correct" a report from Singapore that India, the third largest shareholder of the ADB, has withdrawn its loan application owing to the United States' objections.

Ever since the bank's inception in 1966, India had voluntarily refrained from borrowing from the bank and had been a donor alone.

India made known last year its intention to commence borrowing \$ two billion from the ordinary capital resources of the bank. It voluntarily scaled down the amount to \$ one billion in May.

## Amount Reduced

India put forward the plea that as in normal cases "a reasonable lending programme" should be determined keeping in view the funds available and the needs of the projects to be financed.

Considering the projects proposed to be taken up with ADB loan assistance and India's record of credit worthiness, the sources said, a loan of \$200 million spread over four years would be most inadequate.

When India made its move to borrow from the ADB in 1981 a general capital increase of 125 percent was under discussion. India then thought it could get about \$ two billion from the ADB over a five-year period of the capital increase, 1983-87.

The capital increase was finally decided at 105 percent. Then India was hoping to get about \$1.2 billion.

CSO: 4600/1173

DMKP ISSUES RESOLUTION ON DELHI RIOTS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 11--The Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party today deplored the "communal madness, killings of innocent people and the arson" in the capital and all over the country. In a resolution, it expressed concern over the complete breakdown of the law and order machinery and the failure to handle the situation firmly.

The resolution condemned "the reported involvement of prominent Congress (I) leaders and workers in inciting communal passions." It deplored the role played by All India Radio and Doordarshan in mobilizing public support for projecting the Congress (I) in the forthcoming general elections "taking advantage of the tragedy."

The party adopted a condolence resolution on the assassination of Indira Gandhi which it described as "not merely a crime against an individual, but against the entire nation."

While extending sympathy to members of Indira Gandhi's family and sharing the deep sense of sorrow and anguish of the nation, the party resolved to extend support to fight against divisive, anti-social, anti-national and secessionist elements seeking "to destroy the very fabric of our country's democratic set-up."

The resolution appealed to the people to shed hatred and suspicion and to work for peace and communal harmony.

CSO: 4600/1176

## BRIEFS

**SPIES HELD GUILTY**--New Delhi, Nov 20--Two civilians working with the defence services were today held guilty of spying for having passed on classified information to officials of the Pakistani Embassy here, reports UNI. The Additional Sessions Judge, Mr J.D. Kapoor, who found them guilty, will hear arguments tomorrow on behalf of the two--Ami Chand, a peon in the Directorate of Engineering in Sena Bhavan, and Tara Chand, a peon in the naval headquarters. The cases against them under the Official Secrets Act was registered on February 18, 1980 on the charge that they had been passing on classified information about Indian defence to Mohammad Haroo, alias Raj Kumar and Mohammad Asraf, alias Balbir, working in the visa section of the Pakistani Embassy. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Nov 84 p 1]

**JANATA BOARD MEMBERSHIP**--New Delhi, Nov 12--The Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has reconstituted the party Parliamentary Board in order to make it more cohesive and functional. The new board comprises: Mr Chandra Shekhar, Chairman, Mr Madhu Dandavate, Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, Mr Biju Patnaik, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Indubhai Patel, Syed Shahabuddin, Mr Ravindra Varma, Dr Sarojini Mahishi, Mr Ram Sunder Das and Mr Bapu Kaldate, who will act as the secretary. The first board meeting will be held here on November 21 at which reports received from various State units are to be considered. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 13 Nov 84 p 7]

**RAJIV, LALDenga MEETING**--New Delhi, Nov 19--The Mizo National Front chief, Mr Laldenga, today had a meeting with Mr Rajiv Gandhi on finding a political solution to the 20-year-old insurgency problem in the Union Territory of Mizoram, reports UNI. Mr Laldenga said Mr Gandhi was "friendly" and the exchanges had been "free and frank." The MNF chief indicated that the talks between the Government of India and the front delegation would be resumed in the next few days. Two high-ranking MNF leaders--the Mizo National Army "chief" Atawnluia, and the underground front's "Supply Minister"--who arrived here last week from their headquarters in the Arakan hills, were also present at the brief meeting with Mr Gandhi. Mr Gandhi was assisted by Mr G. Parthasarathy, chief of the Policy Planning Committee in the External Affairs Ministry. Asked whether he had submitted fresh proposals to hammer out a solution, Mr Laldenga replied "yes and no." [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Nov 84 p 1]

CSO: 4600/1180

## CLANDESTINE RADIO ON SOVIET CITIZENS IN IRAN

GF211050 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 0300 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Soviet citizens are freely engaged in various activities in Iran. The radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent in Gorgan reports that at the beginning of the current Azar month [22 November-21 December], that is, about 3 weeks ago, a Soviet Turkmenistan citizen named 'Adel Ram was arrested in Ramian, city of this province. It transpired that from the time of the inception of the accursed Khomeyni revolution until now, more than 20,000 Soviet citizens who appear to belong to the southern republics of the Soviet Union in terms of religion, mannerisms, and language, and are of Iranian descent, have been arriving in the northern regions of the country on forged Iranian passports and are ostensibly engaged in various occupations such as agriculture and trade.

The number of Soviet citizens who have crossed via the Aras River or the mountainous regions of Gorgan, Khorasan, and Azerbaijan to Iran was first mentioned by (?Major General) Qarani. Valiollah Qarani was the first commander in chief of the Khomeyni regime. He had stressed in a classified report to Mehdi Bazargan, the prime minister of the regime at that time, that the number of Soviet citizens in Iran had surpassed 40,000. It may be recalled that 4 years ago, Valiollah Qarani was murdered in his house in Tehran by members of the Tudeh Party.

According to our correspondent, 'Adel Ram, a Soviet citizen, revealed in his confessions during detailed videotaped interrogation in Rehshahri's office that 20,000 Soviet citizens were trained 2 years before the uprising of the mullahs in bases on the Soviet border and had been gradually and illegally sent into the country.

'Adel Ram was recently executed on charges of active membership in the executive body of the Tudeh Party in the north of the country. Knowledgeable sources say that his body was burned.

CSO: 4640/205

## NEW DRAFT LAW TO REDUCE EXEMPTIONS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] The enactment of new regulations for compulsory military service will bring almost all of the country's eligible youth into military duty. Regulations pertaining to eligible persons in excess of the number needed on the basis of which every year a number of eligible persons were excused from military service have been completely eliminated; at the present time exemptions because of the service of other family members are only granted to the families of martyrs. In order to prevent violations and misrepresentations on the part of some eligible persons the office of military service has been given five years in which to investigate medical exemptions. If, during this period, it is demonstrated to the officials of the office of military service that someone has obtained an exemption by giving false information, his exemption will be revoked and he will be sent for sacred military duty.

Prior to this various factors entered into the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of military service. For example, due to the capacity of training camps and the country's other conscription facilities, every year a number of ordinary soldiers and high-school graduates were selected by lottery or by officials to be classed as surplus and issued exemptions. One of the main reasons for exempting eligible persons was service by other family members. Physical infirmities and physical and psychological ailments also provided extensive exemptions to ill and injured persons from work of which they were not capable. The new military service regulations have completely eliminated some of these instances, such as the surplus classification exemption, so that from now on no one will be exempted from military service under a surplus classification. Moreover, at the present time, in view of the state of the war, no eligible person, except those in the families of martyrs, will be exempted from duty because of service by other family members. Concerning medical exemptions, restrictions have been established on the principle that some persons are not in perfect health, but are capable of doing office work and light labor.

### Status of Previously Exempted Persons

For a large group of people granted exemptions prior to enactment of the new law, the question of their current status now arises. Regarding this, officials in the office of military service say: Exemptions will remain in force for persons exempted prior to enactment of the new law for medical reasons, because of service by other family members, or in a surplus classification. Concerning new medical exemptions, however, the law gives officials in the office of military service five years in which to verify claims used as the basis for issuing exemptions. A medical exemption is actually subject to review for five years; if during this period evidence is found that false statements were made by the eligible party at the time the exemption was issued, the exemption card will no longer be valid.

Colonel Khalil Razmanju, chief of the office of military service of the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran, commented on the status of previously exempted persons. He said: Physicians, pharmacists, veterinarians, and dentists born before 1327 [21 March 1948 - 20 March 1947] are four groups entirely exempted from military service. Any exemption card held by such persons is valid. Persons with a licentiate degree or higher, and non-medical doctors born before 1333 [21 March 1954 - 20 March 1955] have been entirely exempted, and any documents they have are valid.

The chief of the office of military service discussed the status of other previously exempted persons. He said: Others who have previously been exempted, including those with vocational degrees, high school diplomas and lower born before the end of the year 1337 [20 March 1959] have been exempted; any documents they hold are valid, so that those born between 1334 [21 March 1955 - 20 March 1956] and 1337 [21 March 1958 - 20 March 1959] do not need to show exemption papers to leave the country. Those born in 1337 [21 March 1958 - 20 March 1959] who were not students prior to the month of Mehr 1358 [23 Sep - 22 Oct 1979] and are now studying in one of the country's institutions of higher learning are exempted from military service.

#### Types of Exemption Requests

Thousands of persons report daily to the office of military service's centers to obtain folios of assignment to military service. This group includes a large number of people seeking medical exemptions on the grounds that physical infirmities prevent them from performing military service. One person reporting to the Tehran office of military service, who had a very large body despite his young age, said concerning his reason for reporting: I was born in the year 1344 [21 March 1965 - 20 March 1966], but I weigh 110 kilograms [242.5 pounds], and this weight is in no way proportionate to my height, which is less than 170 centimeters [5 feet 7 inches]. For this reason, I cannot even perform daily tasks well, much less go into military service. For this reason, due to my excess weight, I have requested a medical exemption from the office of military service; in a few days the medical council will announce its decision concerning my going or not going into service. I hope they will exempt me, because with my excess weight I will be nothing but a nuisance to the army and I cannot perform good service.

An official of Precinct Two of the Tehran military service office says concerning the status of this eligible man and other similar cases: Excess weight and corpulence alone will not cause the exemption of an eligible person. Height is also a factor with great bearing in this matter. For example, if someone weighs 120 kilograms [264.55 pounds] but is tall enough for this weight to be proportionate to his size, he will not be exempt from service. In any case, decisions on this are made by the physicians on the council; they will determine the fitness or non-fitness of this eligible man and other similar cases with the necessary examinations, and announce their decision to us. Colonel Ebrahim Kamalvand, chief of Precinct Two of the Tehran military service office discussed the procedures for investigating requests for exemptions. He said: When eligible persons report, they are examined by a physician, and if the doctor identifies an infirmity, he refers the person to the medical council. If the first physician declares the eligible person healthy and fit for military service, but the eligible person claims to be ill, he can take this matter up with the officials of the military service office precinct. The officials of the military service office, taking into consideration the status of the eligible person and the documents he presents, will refer him directly to the medical council for examination and duty classification. Any decision the council issues concerning

the eligible party is binding and not subject to appeal. In general, the council determines if the examined eligible person is healthy or sick, and, on the basis of the council's decision and the extent of illness or infirmity, we grant a permanent or a temporary medical exemption.

#### Conditions for Medical Exemption

According to sources in the office of military service, eligible persons with psychological and physical ailments which would interfere with their performance of military service may apply for medical exemptions at the office of military service, and a decision will be made on the matter by the medical council. Among those previously exempted, however, are a number of people whose medical exemptions were temporary. Some of these people have now been given permanent exemptions in view of the type of illness they have and of the laws which exist in this area. Temporary medical exemptions will be renewed for another group.

Regarding this, one of those reporting to the office of military service said: Last year a temporary medical exemption was issued to me because of a restricted heart valve. Today I have come to renew it, but fortunately officials of the office of military service have told me that since my infirmity is severe, my exemption has been changed to a permanent medical exemption. Concerning the status of those who have been given medical exemptions up until now by the office of military service, Colonel Khalil Razmanju said: The exemptions of those with or without licentiate degrees or illiterates who have previously obtained medical exemptions from the office of military service will remain in force. For example, previously issued exemptions to a physician born in 1330 [21 March 1951 – 20 March 1952] or the bearer of a licentiate degree born in 1335 [21 March 1956 – 20 March 1957] will remain in force, unless it comes to our attention that the medical exemption was not properly issued, since, according to the new law, the office of military service has five years after an exemption is issued to investigate how it was issued. In this area the medical council will thoroughly investigate the status of the exempted person. Exemptions because of service by other family members also have a five-year period in which they may be investigated, because false documents may have been presented to obtain such exemptions.

One of the basic changes in the new draft law is the requirement for continuous study in order to retain a student exemption.

In this regard, the chief of the office of military service said: If a student in the first year of high school does not study the second year, his study will be considered periodic. College students must also study systematically. In this area, of course, the universities have their own regulations, under which a student may stop studying for several terms in accordance with existing regulations.

It is said that in order to make it possible for every young man to proclaim his religion to the country through military service, henceforth no surplus manpower exemptions will be given to anyone.

The chief of the office of military service of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran commented on the elimination of the surplus manpower classification. He said: With the exception of a number of people graduating from high school in the month of Khordad [21 May – 21 June] born in 1338 [21 March 1959 – 20 March 1960] or earlier, we have exempted no one under a surplus manpower classification. According to the new draft law, in the future, no one will be exempted as surplus, and a procedure has been established so that everyone may serve. If we see that there is a surplus of soldiers, we will reduce the period of service.



He added: The reduction of the period of service when there is a surplus of soldiers will not impair the quality of one's military service, because for us the quality of training given to soldiers is a constant, while the utilization of trained soldiers is another matter. Our training lasts four months, while the period of service for a trained soldier is 21 months or less, since the period of military service fluctuates between two years and 18 months.

Married men, and especially those with several children, request exemption from military service more than other eligible men. Men with wives and children say that when they go into military service their income is cut and their wives and children are subject to hardship. Moreover, prolonged separation at a great distance from one's children and spouse is hard on a family emotionally and psychologically.

Concerning the status of eligible men who are married, the chief of the office of military service said: In general, those with wives and children cannot be exempted in time of war, but in peacetime they may be exempted if they are not receiving financial assistance from the government. Provisions have been made for this in the new law.

9310

CSO: 4640/181

IRAN

#### ISLAMIC CONFERENCE APPROVES IRANIAN RESOLUTIONS

LD220059 Tehran IRNA in English 1733 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Sanaa, 21 Dec (IRNA)--In its fourth meeting here today, the Foreign Ministers Assembly of the Islamic Conference Organization approved two resolutions as proposed by the Iranian delegation here for combatting moral corruption in Muslim countries, fighting the encroachment of Western culture upon the Muslim nations and keeping up a struggle for ensuring that the Jerusalem occupying regime remains in its political isolation.

To ensure fulfillment of the resolutions proposed by Iran, the secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organisation is to form a committee of some member states whose function it will be also to study the foreign relations of the regime occupying Qods especially with the third world countries.

The political committee of the Fifteenth Assembly for the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference Organisation has also condemned the Jerusalem occupying regime for annexing the Golan Heights as well as its relations with the United States. The two resolutions were proposed by the Syrian delegation at the conference and were upheld by Iran. The committee has also condemned the Soviet Union for her occupation of Afghanistan, and the French Government for its occupation of three islands of the Comoros.

In related news from the conference the Algerian Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Boualem Bessaiah, warned Muslim states against differences in their ranks. Referring to the Iraq-Iran war he invited the two warring countries to a cessation of hostilities by negotiation. In his speech to the conference on Thursday he referred to the assembly of the Foreign Ministers of Muslim states as evidencing their solidarity and a first step to putting aside differences.

In a similar warning the minister of state for foreign affairs of the United Arab Emirates, Ashid 'Abdallah al-Rashid, deplored differences among Muslim states. He also referred to the Iraq-Iran war as a development undermining the solidarity of Muslim countries. He said also that other internal problems such as economic recession, and famine in the African continent have also adversely affected the world status of Muslim nations.

Foreign Affairs Minister of Yemen Arab Republic Ahmed Muhammad al-Asbahi and chairman of the Fifteenth session of the conference said in his Thursday

address to the conference that Washington's policies in the Middle East is one of support for the Zionists' policy of expansionism and aggression.

He said the Muslim nations believe that the United States does not really look forward to peace in the region. He also called for a cessation of war between Iraq and Iran and said that because earlier mediation between the two warring countries had failed, the Muslim countries would not abandon their efforts for bringing the war to a settlement in the future.

In other parts of his address to the conference he also deplored Washington's threat for pulling out of UNESCO and called on the member countries of the Islamic Conference Organisation to prop up UNESCO in the absence from the organisation of the United States.

In related reports, foreign ministers of some Muslim states left Sanaa on Thursday while the conference continues here.

Departing Foreign Minister of Kuwait Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah said at the airport it is only natural that representatives of some 40 member states should have difference of opinion when they gather at a meeting. Among other Arab ministers who left the conference on Thursday were Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar Shaykh Suhaym ibn Hamad al-Thani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Oman Yusuf al-Alwai Abdallah, Indian Minister of State in Charge of External Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Muda Mohamed Bolkiah, and a group of other foreign ministers.

In another report, UNESCO's Director General Amadou Mahtar m'Bow said in an interview with the print and broadcast media here Thursday night that in his capacity he serves the UNESCO and not any single member country.

He sharply criticized Washington for claiming that the organisation has been politicized and said that in fact it is Washington who is trying to "politicize" the organisation by threatening to pull out of it.

Without referring in name to the United States or Britain he said that certain countries wish to see UNESCO and its director general serving their own interests. He also deplored disreputing rhetorics against himself by the United States and Britain saying that they were doing so because he is a "Muslim and African."

CSO: 4600/164

TEHRAN REPORTS ON 'FINAL RESOLUTIONS' OF ICO MEETING IN SANAA

LD221827 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Excerpts] According to a dispatch from Sanaa, thanks to the efforts of the delegation representing the Islamic Republic of Iran at the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, two draft resolutions put forward by Iraq were not approved by the conference political committee. At the same time, in view of the instructive comments and discussions of the Iranian delegation at the public sessions and meetings of the political committee of the 15th Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, the conference political committee approved a resolution last night which was proposed by the head of this committee.

According to AFP, the 15th session of the foreign ministers of the ICO ended its work today by issuing a final resolution. Although the issue of the Palestine revolution is mentioned in this resolution, no serious proposal is put forward on the liberation of occupied Palestine and nothing is said about the massacre and torture of Muslim Palestinians and such deeds as the poisoning of drinking water at girls' schools in Jerusalem and the Ghaza Strip.

According to the Central News Unit, the people's demand to expand the battle-front against the Zionist enemy has attracted the attention of political observers despite the fact that the statement [as heard] demands confrontation against the Camp David Accords. The statement says Iraq has agreed to cooperate with the goodwill ICO mission. The ICO invites the two warring countries to cooperate fully with this mission which is led by Gambian President Dawda Jawara; and the countries are asked to observe Islamic laws and the Geneva convention on the use of chemical weapons and the treatment of POW's.

The statement makes no reference to Iraq starting the war and the destruction of large and prosperous Iranian cities such as Khorramshahr and Qasr-shirin.

The conference expresses support for the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and demands the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon in accordance with resolutions 508 and 509 issued by the UN Security Council in June 1983.

According to REUTER, Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who took part in the Sanaa Islamic Conference, said there is no place for negotiations or peace with Iraq; and the war will continue until final victory and the overthrow of the aggressive regime of Baghdad.

## CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS UNREST IN FARS PROVINCE

GF220750 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] A commander of the Islamic Revolution Committee of Fars has been killed by some tribesmen of this province. The Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent in Shiraz reported that last Wednesday, Naser (Khatak), the commander of Khomeyni's revolution committee in Fars was killed while pursuing a group of Boyer Ahmad and Zarqami tribesmen along with his deputy. (Khatak) was killed by a volley of eight bullets on the Kohkiluyeh Heights. According to the same report of the Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent, the deputy of Naser (Khatek) named Moqaddam was critically injured and taken to the hospital.

Clashes between the Fars tribesmen and the agents of the criminal mullahs' regime, which have been going on for the past 2 years in this area, reached new heights 3 weeks ago following the arrest of Farhad Zarqami and 24 other Fars tribesmen at the hands of the mullahs' committee members. Unrest has gripped the length and breadth of Fars Province and is increasing daily.

In the same report by the Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent, it is added: The Fars Province tribesmen's differences with the so-called Islamic committee members began when the committee members of the region connived with the Friday Imams and the personal representatives of Khomeyni to use various pretexts to prevent distribution of rationed goods. This connivance subjected the tribal families to intense pressure and a shortage of essential goods. The Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent adds in his report: The regime's agents and officials of the mullahs' judicial machinery had admitted to this 4 months ago when 7 million tumans worth of smuggled rationed goods was confiscated from Shiraz blackmarket and three persons, including two mullahs, were arrested in this connection.

CSO: 4640/208

NVOT REPORTS NEW EXECUTIONS IN IRAN

TA252003 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Unattributed commentary: "The Islamic Regime's New Crimes"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: The Islamic regime's supersititious and bloody leaders--who have exhausted the patience of our homeland's people with their anti-Iranian and antipeople policy--have escalated terror and bloodshed in the aftermath of the intensification of discontent and expansion of the people's protests.

Not a day goes by without the Islamic regime's turbaned and Savakist executioners murdering patriotic and revolutionary individuals in their medieval dungeons, on the basis of verdicts by shari'a judges, without observing the slightest legal standards and without trial. In recent weeks the Islamic regime's killers reportedly delivered more than 100 individuals affiliated with the Iranian nation's revolutionary forces--individuals who bore the heavy burden of struggle against the counterrevolution--to the firing squads. Reliable sources have reported that a large number of the Iranian people's brave and revolutionary children were executed in Tehran at Evin's frightful Aryamehri prison, and in the Islamic prisons of Tabriz, Shiraz, Masjed Soleyman, and some other towns. According to these sources, at least 70 political prisoners--individuals whose only crime was defense of the revolution and support for the Iranian revolution's popular, antidespotic, and anti-imperialist line--were executed in Evin prison alone at the beginning of this month.

It is abundantly clear that the Islamic regime, which is beset with confusion by its antipeople policy, believes that it will be able to quell the tide of protests of the free Iranian people--which is expanding gradually--by intensifying terror and repression and by expanding the scope of executions. It should be said, however, that the gentlemen are gravely mistaken. The Iranian people, who rose as one against the tyranny and dictatorship of the shah's despotic regime, and who by offering tens of thousands of martyrs and victims threw that antipeople regime onto the garbage heap of history, today too when they are being confronted with the dictatorial, despotic Islamic regime of the oppressive mullahs, they cannot be deterred from struggle for independence, freedom, and social justice by this regime's cruelty and savagery.

In the place of every noble and revolutionary person that the Islamic regime eliminates without observing international legal mores, and only on the verdict of shari'a judges, hundreds of the nation's children will rise to save the revolution and return the revolution to its popular, antidespotic, and anti-imperialist course. Protests and local struggles by the toiling Iranian people throughout our homeland, which are gradually gaining a spontaneous aspect, indicate the decline of the gloomy star of the antipeople and tyrannical rule of the turbaned Islamic rulers. These struggles cannot be halted by intensifying terror and repression, and by carrying out executions.

Our nation's struggles, whose scope is expanding, place certain urgent and important tasks before the entire Iranian nation, and before all true revolutionary forces and political, national, and democratic parties and organizations. So far the Islamic regime has taken the greatest advantage from the discord and division among genuine revolutionary forces. It was only through this discord and dispersion of committed revolutionary forces that the current treacherous swindling rulers, by cowardly exploiting the Iranian people's confidence and religious beliefs, were able to seize power. The past bitter experience is very instructive, and one must learn from this experience.

All revolutionary forces, whether religious or nonreligious, should put aside all differences in opinion and approaches, which are extremely inconsequential in the face of the main goal of reviving Iran's freedom and independence. Under the current conditions, the duty of all forces believing in the popular anti-imperialist revolution is to rise up and struggle, hand in hand and within a united, popular anti-imperialist front, against the usurpers of power and against the tyranny of the fascist-theocratic regime. Only in this way can the revolution and its gains be saved from the usurpers of power, and the revolution be returned to its popular, antidespotic, and anti-imperialist course.

CSO: 4640/207



## BRIEFS

**GRAIN TRANSPORTATION DEVICE REPORTEDLY BUILT**—A machine for transferring various types of grain has been built in Iran for the first time. With the completion of this device, mechanical transportation implements will be to a great extent unnecessary for moving grain long distances. Chehreh-Gosha, one of our country's young industrialists, announced this in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: In the course of an 11-year industrial study we have been able to present 11 plans for machinery, including six systems for transporting agricultural materials, and designs such as kites, shovels, transport systems using wind and suction, and plastic and chain ropeways. Noting that each of these designs was accompanied by a working model, he added: Because of the crucial nature of agriculture in the Islamic Republic of Iran, for the first time we designed and built a grain transportation device after a comprehensive study was made and flaws eliminated. If this device receives support from the concerned government organizations and is produced extensively more than 20 million dollars in currency will be kept from leaving the country annually. Concerning the capacity of this device, he then said: The grain transportation device, depending on the variety used, can move between seven and 80 tons of grain over a distance of kilometers using pipes; if it is used, it will prevent the wasting of time and we will to a great extent be without need of mechanical transportation equipment and manpower. Chehreh-Gosha then discussed the quality of this device. He added: In terms of quality and desirability, this device is similar to its foreign counterparts which are imported from European countries and its assembled price is around 80 thousand rials; its imported counterparts cost around 400 thousand rials. He said: In view of the fact that the Province of West Azarbaijan uses large quantities of industrial materials and implements and has great capacity for producing agricultural implements and their spare parts, we presented a plan to this province's office of mines and industry and are now waiting for a loan and land on which to construct a large factory, in order to repay our debt to the Islamic revolution. He then discussed the obstacles in the way of constructing such implements and machinery. He said: Just as was said, in view of the crucial nature of agriculture, industrialists in this sector must be given greater support so that self-sufficiency may be attained. In conclusion, he called upon officials in the Province of West Azarbaijan to make available the necessary industrial loans and lands to industrialists in this sector in order to help the country attain self-sufficiency with the production of such industrial goods as this. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Nov 84 p 8] 9310

**COMPUTER-CODED BOOKLETS DISTRIBUTED TO PREVENT MISUSE**—The new booklet for the just distribution of goods (economic mobilization) for Tehran residents, which has a new design and will be computer-coded in order to prevent misuses, will be distributed by the neighborhood councils before the end of the current year [20 March 1985]. Kamal ol-Din Hasan Fayz, general manager of the Tehran Province commerce office, announced this in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He also said: Since 25 Mehr of the current year [17 October 1984], when the issuance of the current economic mobilization booklet was assigned to the



general commerce office of Tehran Province, we have held a number of meetings with various provincial officials and others involved in province commerce in order to determine the form and characteristics of the new booklets. We are hoping to begin the task of printing the new economic mobilization booklets for the residents of Tehran before the end of the current year [20 March 1985], if the designs are approved and the necessary forms are printed. The general manager of the Tehran office of commerce also referred to the measures taken in the new economic mobilization booklets to prevent any form of misuse. He said: In order that there be no likelihood of misuse of the new booklets, a special design will be used for these booklets. We are presently talking to a computer company in order to find a procedure for applying computer codes to the booklets for the just distribution of goods, in order to minimize the likelihood that these booklets will be misused. In this interview the general manager of the Tehran office of commerce also discussed the manner of issuing the current booklets for the just distribution of goods for those transferring to Tehran and for those who change residence within Tehran. He said: The task of issuing economic mobilization booklets to families who have changed residence within Tehran has been assigned to the Islamic neighborhood councils, and for those transferring to Tehran, it will be done in light of the terms previously announced by the governor-general's office, and the neighborhood Islamic councils will obtain confirmation from reliable persons in the 20 regions of the city of Tehran, who are located in the regional mayor's offices. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Nov 84 p 8] 9310

SEPAH BANK TRANSACTIONS--In order to bolster agriculture, and in accordance with decisions by the Money and Credit Council, 10 billion rials in interest-free credit have been granted to the Bank of Agriculture by the Sepah Bank, and naturally this interest-free loan will be given interest-free to farmers by the Bank of Agriculture to facilitate growth in agricultural production. Mohammad Mehdi Jahan-Bin, Chairman of the Board and acting director of the Sepah Bank, who had come to sacred Mashhad to inspect the Khorasan branch of the Sepah Bank with a member of the board of directors and the directorship of the bank's investment transactions, gave an exclusive interview to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. While announcing this matter, he added: Contracts for the installment payment sales of raw materials, tools and work implements, limited partnerships, civil partnerships, over-the-counter transactions, and installment payment sales of machinery for the first half of the current year [21 March - 22 September 1984] totaled more than 83 billion rials. Through the will of God, the implementation of the Islamic banking law has resulted not only in a halt to the growth of inflation over the previous year, but even in a reduction to some extent. This shows the soundness of the new money and banking system which is built on Islamic economic principles. He then announced that during the first eight months of the current year [21 March - 21 November 1984] the committed nation of the Islamic republic throughout the country placed around 15 billion rials in interest-free deposits in the Sepah Bank, around 1.5 billion of which came from the Khorasan area. He referred to the peoples' deposits in this branch of the bank and said: During the first half of the current year [21 March - 22 September 1984] the martyr-nurturing nation throughout the country deposited more than 109 billion rials in short- and long-term investment accounts in the Sepah branch bank, around seven billion of which were in Khorasan. Jahan-Bin also referred to the bank's investment in industry. He said: In answer to the needs of those wishing to establish industries, the Sepah Bank has made provisions which have been successful so far. Many plans have been carried out; in order to attain this objective around 10 billion rials in various Islamic contracts have been used so that through the use of installment loans, most of the needed machinery, facilities, raw materials, and the tools and implements of work may be procured in order to establish industries. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 11 Nov 84 p 2] 9310

IRAQI OPPOSITION CONFERENCE ENDS--Tehran, 21 Dec (IRNA)--A three day seminar of Iraqi opposit-on forces ended in Tehran Thursday calling for stepped-up efforts to mobilize potential militia activists. The mobilization (forces) for Islamic Revolution in Iraq and the Supreme Assembly of Islamic Revolution of Iraq (SAIRI) ended their joint meeting with a three-point communique. The communique said while unity must be maintained under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni, a political and military organization should be created for all the Muslim Iraqi resistance groups. The head of the Basij departments of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC) Br. Rahmani, presented an in depth review on the current issues facing the movement. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1617 GMT 21 Dec 84 LD]

CSO: 4600/165

NO CHANGE EXPECTED IN INDIA'S POLICY TOWARD PAKISTAN

Lahore JANG in Urdu 7 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Ershad Ahmad Haqqani: "Mrs Gandhi's Assassination and Its Aftermath"]

[Text] The people of Pakistan are naturally interested in the question as to what effect Mr Rajiv Gandhi's coming into power (or in other words, Mrs Indira Gandhi's departure from the scene) will have on Pakistani-Indian relations. We have to keep in mind the fact that present Indian-Pakistani relations are the net result of a host of historical, psychological and contemporary issues. Every Pakistani knows the historical and psychological effects of the two communities living together for a thousand years. The partition of the subcontinent took place against the wishes of the Hindus. Our people know the ups and downs (more downs than ups) through which our relations with India have passed over the last 37 years. But many of my countrymen may not have thought about the contemporary conditions that are affecting our relations with India. I would like to explain some of them.

The contemporary causes are of two kinds--negative and positive. Here are the negative ones; Immediately after independence, the foreign policies of the two countries followed quite different lines. From the beginning of the 50's we (no matter what our inducements and incentives) leaned toward the West, whereas India joined other powers to evolve a system of nonalignment. India, of course, had some connection with America and we with the Soviets, but on the whole we were with America while India was a founding member of the nonaligned movement. After the death of Nehru Indira Gandhi leaned more and more toward the Soviets, and Pakistan became friendly with China without breaking its ties with the West. America had lost interest in Pakistan. President Ayub Khan tried to divert America's attention to Pakistan, but owing to numerous defense pacts in which America was involved with other countries, Pakistan could not get its attention. Having lost all hope in the West, we decided to change our foreign policy. From 1965 to 1980 (until the Soviets entered Afghanistan and the Shah of Iran fell), we became unimportant for America and our relations with it cooled. India moved closer to the Soviets. Now Pakistan is again thought to be friendly with America, and India is busy with its hue and cry against American

aid to Pakistan. That is why Pakistan's offer of a nonaggression pact with India has made no headway over the past 3 years. India's objection to our relations with the West remains, even after Mrs Gandhi's death. The present writer has time and again expressed the general view that as long as Pakistan's present relations with the West continue, there is no possibility of there being any normalization of its relations with India. There is no question of there being any major change in India's foreign policy after Mrs Gandhi's death, and consequently Pakistani-Indian relations will remain exactly where they are. We should remember that even if America and India draw closer to each other in the future, it will not benefit us in the least. On the other hand, America may try to compel us to "closer cooperation" with India. The result of such a cooperation can be easily imagined.

Tension between America and the Soviets can also have a negative effect on Pakistani-Indian relations. Whenever relations between the superpowers worsen, India, being pro-Soviet, intensifies its enmity against America and its friends. At present, since the superpowers are at loggerheads, so are the two big countries in the subcontinent.

As for the historical causes of the tension between India and Pakistan, Mr Rajiv Gandhi inherits the anti-Pakistani mentality of the Nehru family. Some people have expressed the hope that Mr Rajiv Gandhi, as one who grew up after independence and does not know the bitter relations of the two communities, will try to normalize relations between the two countries. We think they are too optimistic, for, contrary to president Zia's expectations, anti-Pakistani sentiments run so high in the Nehru family that nobody, young or old, can escape them.

There is, however, one contemporary factor that can improve Pakistani-Indian relations. It is the desire in Third World countries to have cooperation with each other in order to free themselves from the domination of the superpowers. In many countries of Asia and Africa, associations for regional cooperation are working. Last of all, South Asian countries have started an association called SARC, which has done some work over the past 2 or 3 years. A circle of the intelligentsia has developed in the Third World that believes in mutual cooperation. This circle can be found both in India and in Pakistan. It would not be untrue to say that for the first time in history we find in India a sizeable group of people that sincerely wants to have good relations with Pakistan. It is because of this group that it has been said that when Mrs Gandhi talked about war with Pakistan she was not voicing the sentiments of the entire Indian nation. This is a fact and it will in the future mold the relations between India and Pakistan. This group of people comprises Indian writers, journalists, intellectuals, learned people, some bureaucrats and some pillars of the south block (e.g., the Indian foreign minister). They want India and Pakistan to take similar stands toward the world powers and on security issues. In this way, both of these countries would be able to break free from the influence

of the superpowers. This way of thinking is commendable, but it has not become the mental attitude of the ruling party in India. If the adherents of this ideology could at some future time convert young Rajiv Gandhi to their way of thinking, relations between India and Pakistan could improve. But first, this is a remote possibility; second, it would be possible only if Pakistan's relations with the West underwent a change; and third, the question of Kashmir, which has been the cause of so much tension between the two countries, would have to be settled or at least shelved for the time being. This is the attitude that President Ziaul Haq has advocated. But all this will take a long time to happen, and everything about it is extremely "iffy."

At the same time, as Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his government face very serious problems, a clash with Pakistan will not be in their interest. Hence, there is some truth in saying that for the time being there is not much danger of a clash between India and Pakistan. We should remember, however, that rulers who lack self-confidence sometimes start wars. It is possible that the new leadership in India might start a war with Pakistan simply to divert the public's attention from the problems at home and rally the nation behind them in the name of national defense. But we think that at present India lacks the tranquility that is essential for thinking out such schemes. Hence it will not start a war for some time to come. We have no hope that the government of Mr Rajiv Gandhi will accept the proposal of President Zia to begin peaceful relations with Pakistan, but neither do we expect a clash. We do not expect any major changes in Indian-Pakistani relations at present.

12476

CSO: 4656/33

# INDIA CHIDED FOR SPURNING HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

Lahore JANG in Urdu 7 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Will This Opportunity Be Lost?"]

[Text] On his return from the funeral of the late Mrs Indira Gandhi, President Gen Ziaul Haq talked to reporters about his journey to Delhi and his meeting with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Zail Singh. His talk with the Indian prime minister was satisfactory, even encouraging. The president brought with him the impression of an India that is willing to have friendly relations with Pakistan. That is exactly what the people of Pakistan want. Having good relations with India will not only help the people of the two countries to make progress but also, considering the strategic position of the subcontinent, bring about worthwhile changes on the world scene. It is a fact, however, that rhetoric alone does not get us anywhere. Good relations can only begin if both parties decide to forget the bitterness of the past and start new relationships based on good will and friendship. Mutual confidence can only be established when each party is willing to meet the other half way.

When the president left for Delhi to take part in the funeral services for Mrs Gandhi, he had deep feelings of sympathy for India. At Delhi he expressed his feelings of sympathy and reiterated his desire for better relations with India in the future. Did the Indian leaders, especially Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, show similar sentiments in return? No...it is painful to say that the answer Mr Rajiv Gandhi gave was not only an unfitting response to the friendly overture from Pakistan, it was unfitting for that sad occasion. In the presence of the U.S. secretary of state, Mr Rajiv Gandhi criticized America for supplying arms to Pakistan. This gave the situation a serious turn. As if that were not enough, the Indian media accused Pakistan of conspiring in the murder of Mrs Gandhi. The worst thing they did was to show the films of the fall of Dhaka.

The assassination of a political leader is a deplorable thing. It was natural for Pakistan to show a deep feeling of sorrow at the occasion. The Indian Government and news media should have shown reciprocal

sentiments of friendship and good will. President Zia's sympathetic attitude will be commended the world over, since it was worthy of a Muslim nation. We did not find similar sentiments in the attitude of the Indians. We wish now, as ever, to have good-neighborly relations with India. India should accept our gesture of friendship, since it is in the interest of the subcontinent and in the interest of all of Southeast Asia.

12476

CSO: 4656/33

# CANADIAN SCHOLAR VIEWS PAKISTAN'S SECURITY SITUATION

GF211432 Lahore JANG in Urdu 15 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] Eric S. (Migles), a Canadian expert on foreign affairs, has said that General Ziaul Haq is a strong and capable leader and in domestic and foreign affairs, he is following very cautious policies. In an interview with a Toronto-based paper in Canada, he said that there were no signs of any constructive opposition in Pakistan which could threaten Pakistan's unity and ability to deal effectively with the problems that are facing the country these days.

It would be unwise to think of a change in regime at this moment when Pakistan is surrounded by its enemies. There is no doubt, he said, that the present government is much better than the last one and there is no opposition party in the country at the national level.

In answer to a question on foreign policy, he said that at the moment President Ziaul Haq is facing a most delicate situation and it is difficult for him to do anything to keep himself away from the mutual rivalry of the two superpowers. Since there is no democratic system in the country for the transfer of power, any effort to bring a change in the country is bound to result in violence and it will add to Pakistan's difficulties. He added that in fact Pakistan is today passing through the most sensitive period of its history and this period is the most dangerous period of its history also.

The Soviet Union at this moment is trying to swallow Afghanistan. As soon as it succeeds, it will try to create difficulties for Pakistan in Baluchistan. India has continued its threats against Pakistan despite the fact that Pakistan is the only country which is keeping the Soviet Union away from the Indian Ocean.

Another factor in this question is that the United States is neither a fast friend nor is it giving necessary aid to this country. It is for this reason that the Pakistani leadership is compelled to deal with the dangerous situation by itself. In view of all these difficulties President Ziaul Haq has done a wonderful job by playing a very vigilant and cautious role.

It is an open secret that during the last 3 years India has stockpiled arms far beyond its needs and is engaged in a largescale program to arm its forces



with the most modern weapons. The only danger that India can think of is from China and to meet this threat, India should set up mountain divisions. On the contrary, India is paying its total attention to increase its armored divisions and bomber aircraft. These armored divisions and the tank divisions surely will be of no use against China or Burma. These could be used only against Pakistan.

He said that it is a very serious situation. India is the only country in the Soviet European block which buys the Soviet arms against its local currency. It means that the Soviet Union is doing its best to make India a superpower and this will prove useful to Soviet Military strategy in the Western Asia.

CSO: 4656/53

# ASSESSMENT OF OIL NEEDS, PRODUCTION EXAMINED

GF231602 Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Oil Outlook"]

[Text] Indigenous oil production in the country now amounts to 25,000 barrels per day (BPD). The output exceeds the target laid down by the sixth plan. This good record, however, does not mean that a substantial part of the national oil need is being locally met. The present output comes to a mere 22 percent of the requirement of the country which currently stands at 1,30,000 BPD [figure as published]. Since this demand can be expected to rise in future, the gap between demand and output will further widen and the country will have to spend more on oil imports.

Pakistan at present needs 120 million barrels of oil equivalent (BOE) of commercial energy per annum, nearly three-fourths of which comes from oil and gas. An official study shows that the total oil and gas demand in the year 2000 will increase to about 300 million BOE. For meeting this huge demand, production of oil and gas has to be stepped up rapidly in order to save the drain of foreign exchange on the import of crude oil and petroleum products which eat up about 60 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

The recently stepped-up efforts have yielded results and oil production has been doubled. This has been possible because of the massive increase in the drilling activity from a low 39 metres per month in September 1983 to 4,000 metres per month now. The pace of drilling, it is obvious, has got to be further increased if still better results are to be achieved.

Several oil discoveries in Lower Sind in quick succession have provided the much needed fillip to the search for black gold. This area is full of promise. Therefore, the drilling of wells should be stepped-up here, while off-shore prospecting should also be taken in hand without delay.

The target of 250 wells to be drilled during the sixth plan is modest and it should be revised upwards. By locating additional drilling projects in the proximity of the areas which have produced oil, the oil companies can economise on drilling costs.

New projects can boost energy production. The thirteen dormant gas wells must also be developed immediately to relieve pressure on the existing supplies which have proved inadequate, leading to load-shedding on a number of occasions. According to the Federal Minister for National Resources, the country has 200 million barrels of discovered, recoverable reserves of oil, while those of gas are ten times more. But it will require huge investments running into billions of dollars to fully tap these oil and gas reserves.

The scale of investment may appear to be very high, but it is imperative that financial resources should be found to increase indigenous oil and gas production in order to avoid a serious slowdown in national development.

CSO: 4600/166

COMMENTARY VIEWS PIRZADA'S ELECTION TO ICO

GF231630 Karachi DAWN in English 21 Dec 84 p 15

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Election"]

[Text] The election of Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada as secretary-general of the Organisation of Islamic Conference [Islamic Conference Organization, ICO] is an affirmation of the role that Pakistan has been playing both within and outside the ICO. As one of the more prominent upholders of Islamic solidarity, Pakistan has been in the forefront in suggesting measures that will promote this cause.

It has itself tried to set an example in this respect by entering into joint ventures with some Muslim states in pursuit of the objective of more meaningful cooperation among the members of the Islamic fraternity. More significant have been Pakistan's efforts to make the organisation an effective political institution, so that it emerges as a vital force in international politics. For instance, in 1974 Pakistan played host to the second Islamic summit in Lahore and from then on Pakistan had the honour of heading the ICO until 1981.

Two Islamic foreign ministers' meetings were held in this country in 1980, the year President Ziaul Haq was asked to address the UN Assembly as the chosen representative of the Ummah. Islamabad has also played an active role in bringing Egypt back into the fold of the ICO and in initiating peace moves to bring about an end of the Iran-Iraq Hostilities, although this objective remains yet to be achieved.

The new secretary-general has a challenging task before him. The ICO has not been as effective in promoting cooperation and unity of approach and action as might be expected. Cooperation among Muslim nations, for instance, in the economic or scientific fields is still at a rudimentary stage and although a number of projects have been started, they have not been able to make sufficient progress.

An important call of duty for the ICO secretariat now will be to put more vigour into this process. Similarly, trade amongst Muslim countries has not reached the level it can attain and there are several shortcomings in this respect. It is to be hoped that in the future the ICO will be more successful

in promoting unity, both at the economic and political levels. Where this letter is concerned, one hopeful sign has been Iran's presence at the Sanaa foreign ministers' conference, the first time it has attended an ICO meeting since it ceased taking an active interest some years back.

It is possible that this development might create the climate necessary to make the ICO peace move in relation to the Iran-Iraq war more propitious. In any case, it is a chance that should not be overlooked, for if the ICO can bring about peace in that region, it will be a significant achievement to its credit and demonstrate its capacity as an instrument of conciliation.

No less important is the need to hammer out a unified ICO strategy for solving the Middle East problem according to the fundamental principles and rights involved in the conflict.

CSO: 4600/166

PAKISTAN

## REFERENDUM OUTCOME WELCOMED

BK220646 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1715 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Shamim Qadir commentary]

[Text] According to the official results of the national referendum of 19 December, there has been 97.7 percent affirmative vote in support of President Mohammad Ziaul Haq's program of Islamization in Pakistan. Announcing the official results over radio and television network, on 20 December, the chief election commissioner, Mr Justice S. A. Nusrat, said the total number of yes votes was 21,253,757 as against 316,918 negative votes. He also informed that out of the total number of registered voters, which stood at 34,992,425, the number of votes cast in the referendum amounted to 21,750,901; 180,226 votes were declared invalid.

The chief election commissioner said that he was fully satisfied over the conduct of the referendum as the commission had fully discharged its legal responsibility. The commission was successful in every respect to hold the referendum in an impartial and peaceful manner. He prayed to almighty Allah for the commission's similar success in fulfilling its constitutional obligation in connection with the next general elections.

The president, General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, has expressed his profound appreciation and thanks to the chief election commissioner and his staff for the conduct of the referendum in so orderly and fair a manner. He said that peaceful progress of polling, the impressive turnout of voters, and the free exercise of their right of vote is a tribute to the sagacity of the people of Pakistan. The president appealed to his countrymen to bow before Allah almighty in thanksgiving and offer special prayers over the greater glory of Islam and Pakistan.

Prominent religious, social and cultural organizations in the country observed thanksgiving day today--Friday--for the massive mandate the nation has given to President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq to continue with the process of Islamization in the country. Prayers were offered at Friday congregations for the continued blessings of almighty Allah to the Pakistani nation in its renewed resolve to enforce Islamic laws in this land. Leaders of public opinion throughout the country continue to hail the overwhelming mandate given by the people to the president to continue with his Islamization policies. All this

appreciation and the support is indeed a natural outcome of what President Ziaul Haq did for the last 7 and 1/2 years.

It is also important to note that it was the first time in the 37-year-old history of Pakistan that a head of state made a direct reference to the people to seek their approval of his policies. In the past, people chose their rulers indirectly. They voted for parties and candidates, but they never had any direct say in their choice of their head of state or the government. Braving inclement weather at many places and demonstrating their love to Islam and Pakistan, young and old, men and women, even the infirm and disabled went to the polling stations and waited in long queues to cast their votes. They have proved to the world that they have full confidence in the man who expressed confidence in them by referring a momentous issue for their decision. People knew what was at stake.

Pakistan was created in the name of Islam, and it can exist as a strong and stable nation by strictly adhering to the injunctions of the Holy Koran and the Sunna. So they decided to throw their weight behind what they knew was the correct cause. Indeed, the masses have an unerring sense of right and wrong. It was with their vote the Pakistan was created. Now they have voted to make Pakistan strong, stable, and an ideal Islamic welfare state.

CSO: 4600/166

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO MONGOLIA--The government has announced that the Pakistan ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr Shahid Mohammad Amin, will concurrently serve as ambassador to the MPR. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0600 GMT 20 Dec 84 BK]

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